

MEDIEVAL POEMS OF THE CROSS AND CRUCIFIXION

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Crux sacra quodlibet / casso consecrata
 comitata relicto / carne quicquid
 A ue arbor ardua / afflictos absolvens
 ampliat affidua / animu aduolvens
 Bona beatissime baratoru bellisti
 balsamo blandissime / bonos balneasti
 cora dignissima / deo dedicata
 deuoto dilectissima / dona dante dicta
 Exultantes eripe / errores expelle
 efusum exape / eripnas euellere
 fex felix florida / fulgida formosa
 famulos fructifica / fac famosa
 Gemma gra gemina / gratia gratissima
 gloriosa germina / gratia gratissima
 Horridis hostilibz / hinc
 hereds humilibz / hinc
 In munda ierico / in
 innocentes illos / in
 Laxa carens carne / laxissima
 canoni caluarie / canonicus
 Legis lator lator / legum
 lignu lucens litor / lignum
 Myro modo micans / myrror
 omnia mali minime / omnia
 Perdata numine / perdata
 nobilitas nomine / nobilitas
 Ornata onera / ornata
 onans opera / onans
 Pro peccatis pro / pro peccatis
 porrahi / porrahi
 Qui gerit quicquid / qui gerit
 fructum / fructum
 Regis regu / regis regu
 salu / salu
 seru / seru

PREFACE

So many kindnesses have been extended during the preparation of this dissertation; indeed, so many were made necessary by the inexperience of its author, that to catalogue the whole would be very difficult. My indebtedness to some, however, is sufficiently great to justify the attempt.

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	i
INTRODUCTION	1
1. The Symbol of the Cross	4
2. The Development of the Theology of Redemption	7
3. The Poetry of the Cross	24
TEXTS	33
1. The Old and New Laws, <u>Bern</u> , <u>Burger-</u> <u>bibliothek</u> , <u>Cod. AA.90.27</u>	35
2. Traveller, Stay, <u>Bern</u> , <u>Burgerbibliothek</u> <u>MS. 96</u> ; <u>Wrocław</u> , <u>Biblioteka Uniwersytecka</u> , <u>MS. IV. qu. 12</u>	36
3. A Prayer to the Crucified Christ, <u>Mün-</u> <u>chen</u> , <u>Staatsbibliothek</u> , <u>Clm 12617</u>	36
4. De XII crucibus quibus insignentur cor- pora in nocte, <u>Paris</u> , <u>BN Lat. 1687</u>	37
5. Tractatus de laude crucis, <u>Oxford</u> , <u>Ioh.</u> <u>Bapt. 120</u>	38
6. Vere dignum, <u>Leipzig</u> , <u>UB.</u> , <u>MS. Lat.</u> <u>217</u>	83
7. Figures of the Cross, <u>BM. Reg. 10.</u> <u>A. vii</u>	83
8. The Crucified Christ to Mankind, <u>Bodl.</u> <u>Laud Misc. 22</u>	84
9. The Friars' Crucifixion, <u>Oxford</u> , <u>Queen's Coll. 362</u>	86
10. Aspice pendentem, <u>CCCC MS. 450</u>	87
11. The Virgin, the Crucified Christ, and Mankind, <u>Berlin</u> , <u>Staatsb.</u> , <u>Lat. oct.</u> <u>172</u>	87

12. De virtute sanctae crucis, Leipzig,
UB., Lat. 446 89
13. Crux fidelis, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf
1099 Helmst., ... 94
14. A Grammatical Proverb, Wolfenbüttel,
Cod. Guelf 323 Gud. lat., ... 94
15. Carmen de Christo crucifixo, Leiden,
UB., Cod. Vulc. 48 94
16. Carmen de sancta cruce, Strasbourg,
Bibl. Municipale 180 96
17. An ABC of the Cross, Bodl. 233 105
18. The Four Woods of the Cross, München,
Clm 12527; Clm 17787; Paris, Arsenal
593 107
19. Devota collocutio piissimae Virginis
Mariae cum dominica cruce, Würzburg,
M. ch. q. 156 108
20. De martyrio crucifixi, Melk, Stiftsb.
1086; Wrocław, UB., I. oct. 59; München
Clm 641 112
21. Dialogue of Christ and the Sinner,
København, Kong. Bibl., Gl. Kgl. S. 3401
(80) 113
22. Versus de passione Christi Domini nos-
tri, München, Clm 26847 114
23. The Joy of the Cross, Wien, Nat. Bib.
Schottenstift Cod. 161 114
24. Versus de inventione sanctae crucis,
BM. Cott. Jul. A. vii 115
25. Two Verses on the Woods of the Cross,
Braunschweig, Stadtth. 123 116
26. Hail, Glorious Cross, Fitzwilliam Mus.
MS. J. 55 117
27. The Cross of Pope Sixtus IV, Würzburg,
UB., M. ch. q. 2 118

28.	Circa crucem, <u>Wrocław</u> , <u>UB.</u> , I.o.44 . . .	118
29.	The Crucified Christ and the Seven Principal Vices, <u>Wrocław</u> , <u>UB.</u> , I.f.478 . . .	119
30.	Locutio crucifixi ad peccatorem, <u>Wrocław</u> , <u>UB.</u> , I.o.59 . . .	119
31.	Christ's Speech to the Sinner, <u>Bruxelles</u> , <u>Bibl. Royale</u> 1908-10 . . .	120
32.	Gospel for the Invention of the Cross, <u>Bodl. MS. Eng. poet. a. 1</u> . . .	121
33.	A Stanza of Fortunatus, <u>Bodl. Th. d. 1</u> .	132
34.	Christ's Seven Torments, <u>Dublin</u> , <u>T.C.D.</u> 277; <u>Oxford</u> , <u>Magd. Coll.</u> 93 . . .	132
35.	The Seven Sheddings of Christ's Blood and the Hours of the Cross, <u>St. John's Camb.</u> L 10 . . .	133
36.	A Fragment on the Passion, <u>Trin. Coll. Camb.</u> 1157 . . .	137
37.	To Staunche Blode, <u>Manchester</u> , <u>Rylands Lat.</u> 228 . . .	138
38.	The Hours of the Cross, <u>Camb. Addit.</u> 4120 (<u>H</u>) . . .	139
39.	A Litany of the Blessed Virgin by Christ's Blood, <u>Bodl. Lat. liturg.</u> e.17 .	142
40.	Two Fragments on Christ's Passion, <u>Cambridge</u> , <u>Caius</u> 804 . . .	144
41.	The Virtues of the Cross, <u>Edinburgh</u> , <u>Nat. Lib.</u> 18.7.21 . . .	145
NOTES		146
APPENDIX		230
BIBLIOGRAPHY		232
ABSTRACT		242

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

An ABC of the Cross. Oxford, Bodleian
Library, MS. Bodl. 233 [Summ. 2188], ff.
4r-4v. Before 1350. See pp. 105-107 . . . Frontispiece

Crucifixion From Hirschthal. Maihingen,
Bibliothek des fürsten Oettingen-
Wallenstein, MS. I.2.8^o.6. 13th
century. See pp. 175-177 Plate I

Moralized Bible. Oxford, MS. Bodl. 270b,
fol. 212. 13th century. See pp. 191-192 . . . Plate II

INTRODUCTION

For none of the poems here edited is an identical text available in a printed source anywhere that I could discover, and to the best of my knowledge, with the exception of two or three of the poems, none has been edited at all. For none is a printed edition listed in the major catalogues of Latin and English poetry of the later Middle Ages of Chevalier, Walther, and Brown-Robbins-Cutler.¹ Editions of such texts are needed before a full-scale critical history of medieval poetry of the cross may be written. It is to make possible the writing of such a history that the present editions have been undertaken.

The selection of texts, from manuscripts of the 11th to the beginning of the 16th centuries, demonstrates in miniature the exuberant variety of medieval poetry of the cross. There are devotional lyrics (Nos. 4, 11, 23, 24, 28, 36, and 40 of the present edition), versified treatises

¹Cyr Ulysse Joseph Chevalier, Repertorium Hymnologicum: Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'Eglise latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, 6 vols. (Louvain and Paris, 1892-1921); Hans Walther, Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen, *Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina*, I (Göttingen, 1959); Carleton Brown and Rossell H. Robbins, The Index of Middle English Verse (New York, 1943); Rossell H. Robbins and John L. Cutler, Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse (Lexington, Ky., 1965); Rossell H. Robbins, "Middle English Lyrics: Handlist of New Texts," Anglia, LXXXIII (1965), 35-47.

(Nos. 12 and 16), meditations (Nos. 1, 15, 29, 34); a gospel for the Feast of the Invention of the Cross (No. 32), Hours of the Cross (Nos. 35 and 38), and quasi-liturgical formulary verses (Nos. 3, 6); dialogues (Nos. 11, 19), inscriptions (Nos. 2, 26), and exhortations from the crucified Christ to sinners (Nos. 8, 10, 21, 30). There are poems composed of symbols strung linearly without comment (Nos. 7, 41); there is an abecedarius crucis, a liturgical prosa, and a jest poking fun at fraternal innovations in representations of the crucifixion (Nos. 17, 13, and 9 respectively). The legends of the Invention of the Cross by St. Helena and of the four woods said to compose the cross are represented in Nos. 24, 14, 18, 22, and 25--the last four of which are memoria technica verses for remembering which kind of wood made up which portion of the cross (they do not agree).

The categories suggested above are not mutually exclusive: the abecedarius is obviously devotional in intent, uses symbols in series, and could form the basis of a profitable meditation. The variety of the poetry is simply an index of the extent to which, throughout the Middle Ages, the cross of Christ inspired men at all levels of poetic ability and theological expertise; provoked the development of legends to fill gaps in the Biblical narrative and to demonstrate metaphorically the body of ideas associated with the cross, and was devoutly applied to the entire range of human experience from folk medicine to mystic rapture.

The selection of texts has been made as complete as possible given the limitations of an editor working in the United States from photographic reproductions of MSS and from catalogues which, due to the massive amounts of information they contain, are often in error--a fact which, needless to say, reflects more the Herculean nature of the compilers' task than any lack of zeal or scholarship. In the headnotes to the texts will be found specific corrigenda; appended to the explanatory notes is a finding-list of poems which, for one reason or another, were not available to me at the time of preparing the collection.

*

An acquaintance with three subjects is needed to be able to see the poems of this collection in context: the early history of the symbolism of the cross, the development of the theology of Redemption in the writings of the Fathers of the Church and later medieval authors, and the history of the poetry of the cross and its esthetics from the beginnings of the tradition in the hymns of Venantius Fortunatus to the fraternal spirituality of the thirteenth century. Accordingly, a brief provisional outline of each of these backgrounds follows. These sketches are intended to do no more than acquaint the reader without experience in these fields with the origins and meanings of the stock of expressions the poets constantly use, the framework of ideas to which the poets refer by using

such expressions, and the possibilities for organizing such poetic reference in the centuries preceding those from which our poems come.

1. The Symbol of the Cross

The earliest pre-Constantinian pictorial representations of the cross do not show the scandalous instrument itself. Instead, there appear secular cruces dissimulatae or covert cruciform figures designed to allow the crypto-Christian to conceal the outward sign of his religion from a hostile society. Simple anchors, ships' masts with their perpendicular yardarms, plows, hatchets, the tropaei or vexilla borne at the head of columns of Roman soldiers, and several other figures were to the cross what the acronymic figure of the fish was to the name of Jesus Christ among the inhabitants of the catacombs. Such concealed crosses exist alongside other figures in catacomb murals, and are quite common in the writings of the apostolic Fathers and later patristic authors.²

By far the most common source for imagery of the cross is allegorical exegesis of the Old Testament, which began with the gospel of St. John (3.14) and the Pauline epistles (Rom. 6.6; Gal. 2.19-20 and 6.14 are particularly important), and reached a first culmination in the writings of the oriental apostolic Fathers--especially in the Epistle of

²Jérôme Carcopino, Le mystère d'un symbole chrétien: L'ascia (Paris, 1955), p. 70.

Barnabas, placed by most scholars in the early second century. The apologists of the second and third centuries built up a ramified and complex body of OT typology and symbolism from the base laid down in the Epistle. Its author attached significance both to the material of the cross and to its shape, and interpreted several OT passages accordingly: the material of the cross is figured by the cedar on which the red cow (Christ) is burned in Num. 19.6; and by the tree beside the waters in Ps. 1.3; the form of the cross is figured by the letter tau (in Greek numerals =300) from Gen. 14.14 and 17.23-27 and by the outstretched arms of Moses which gave the Jews victory over Amalec in Exod. 17.8-13. In later writings such as those of St. Justin the Martyr (d. ca. 165), Minucius Felix (late 2nd-early 3rd century), and Tertullian (d. after 220), these interpretations are repeated and a host of others added both from scripture and from the secular world.³

The symbolism thus developed was of pagan origin; sometimes it entered into Christianity via a previous pagan religious significance. The symbol of the ascia or hatchet, often found on ancient funerary monuments, will furnish an example of the way in which such figures could be adapted as Christian symbols.

³These additions, together with a philological examination of all cross-typology to the beginning of the 3rd century, are catalogued in G. Q. Reijners, The Terminology of the Holy Cross as Based Upon Old Testament Typology, Graecitas Christianorum Primaeva, II (Nijmegen, 1965). Wherever typological references occur in the texts of the present edition, a note to the line cites early references.

From the third century B. C., the Pythagoreans, Esenes, and later the Gnostics and several other pagan cults had attached supernatural significance to the ascia: it is found engraved on their altars dedicated to Fortune, to Venus the conqueror of death, in the first century--in areas such as Dalmatia where no Christian influence had yet penetrated. Among the pagan cults, the sign of the ascia seems to have signified immortality, divine power, eternal hope, and future life--and in this meaning grew steadily more widespread in pagan epitaphs and funerary monuments during the first four centuries of the Christian era. Obviously, these meanings are not foreign to the symbol of the cross, and the ascia's shape, its use in wood-working, the prior example of the awl as a crux dissimulata in St. Justin's I Apologia, 54.4 (ANF I.181b), and the meanings attached to other cruces dissimulatae such as the plow, made a Christian ascia, figuring the cross of Christ, almost inevitable in the heavily allegorical spirituality of the early period. The figure's availability and its surface pagan orthodoxy insured the takeover. Jérôme Carcopino has argued forcefully that the imaginative leap was taken by St. Irenaeus and that the Christian ascia was introduced in Gaul following the great persecutions of the years 177-178.⁴ Be this as it may, the history of the ascia

⁴This paragraph summarizes Carcopino's Le mystère d'un symbole chrétien: L'ascia (Paris, 1955), a brief and excellent account which is of great value beyond its immediate concern for students of how symbols change.

may stand for the history of other figurative crosses, whose pagan origins and even pagan currency, easily cleansed away by Christian allegorical interpretation, were looked upon as advantages up to the time of Constantine when, in the relaxed political climate, the cross itself came to be represented for the first time.⁵

2. The Development of the Theology of Redemption

a. The Basic Form; the Apostolic Views

The theology of Redemption is the intellectual system to which reference is made by using the symbolism and typology of the cross. This system developed in what might be termed apostolic, patristic, and scholastic stages up to the time when the new spirituality of the fraternal orders diminished its importance as a referent in cross-poetry.⁶

The three writers who are most important respectively in these stages are St. Paul, St. Augustine, and St. Anselm

⁵Irenaeus (Adv. haer., 4.17.3-4) says that the ascia of 4 Reg. 6.5-6 shows how the Word of God, lost through neglect, may be recovered through the saving wood--Carcopino, p. 74.

⁶For this summary of the apostolic stage I have drawn upon the synopsis of J. Gewiess, "Erlösung," in J. Höfer and K. Rahner eds., Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 2nd ed. (Freiburg i. B., 1957-1965), III (1959), 1016-1020; chapters I-IV of L. Richard, Le mystère de la Rédemption, Bibliothèque de Théologie, Série I: Théologie Dogmatique, I (Tournai, 1959), pp. 1-94; parts I and II of Jean Riviere, Le dogme de la Rédemption: Essai d'étude historique, Etudes d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiastique (Paris, 1905), pp. 1-213, and the specialized study of Léopold Sabourin, Rédemption sacrificielle: Une enquête exégétique, Studia: Recherches de Philosophie et de Théologie publiées par les Facultés S. J. de Montreal, 11 (Paris, 1961).

of Canterbury. There are different emphases in each period, but the underlying religious assumptions and the general outline of the scheme of Christian salvation remained constant for all.

This basic theological outline was the following. Fallen man, who might with perfect justice have been allowed to remain in the power of sin and death to which he had become subject through his transgression in paradise, is redeemed by God's mercy through the mediating office of the man Jesus Christ, who, as God incarnate, fulfilled the promises of redemption which were made by prefiguration in the Old Testament: the faithful together will be led out of bondage (Exod. 6.6, 13.3 ff; Deut. 13.6, 15.15) according to the words of Jeremiah, "Vivit Dominus, qui eduxit filios Israel de terra Aegypti" (Jer. 23.7). Individual sinners will be cleansed according to the prophecy of Ezechiel, "Salvabo vos ex universis iniquamentis vestris" (Ezech. 36.25, 29), by the establishment of a new covenant to replace the old (Jer. 31.31). The Kingdom will be re-established in the hereafter.

Christ's death on the cross ultimately eliminated the power of the devil over the world--that power which He had overcome several times in His ministry by forgiving sins (Marc. 2.5), healing the sick (Marc. 1.31), and raising the dead (Marc. 5.41-42). He came to give His life as a redemption for the many (Marc. 10.45): a redemption which may be viewed either as a present state, i.e., by the for-

givenness of sins (Act. 2.38; Rom. 3.25) or the reception of the spirit of God (Marc. 13.11; Act. 2.17; Gal. 3.2-4, 4.6; Rom. 8.15-17); or else as an eschatological state which will be achieved at the Second Coming of Christ, when the body will be resurrected (Luc. 14.14; 1 Cor. 15.12) and man will see God (1 Cor. 13.12) in the "new heaven and new earth" foretold by Isaiah (Isai. 65.17).

It is from differences in the detailed description of Christ's crucifixion and its effects--for example, in varying the metaphorical texture of the description of the event or its consequences, or in emphasis upon one or another aspect of the major changes brought about in the relations between God, man, and the devil--rather than from disagreements about the basic nature of God's salvific plan, that the three periods may be said to present different faces.

According to St. Peter, the regeneration of man was accomplished through the resurrection of Christ (1 Petr. 1.3-4); in the writings of St. John, though Pauline ideas such as obedience and sacrifice are not absent (Joan. 10.17-18, 1.29, 13.1), the incarnate Word and the glorious reunion of man with God (Joan. 12.32) receive more attention than the crucifixion.

In the epistles of St. Paul, however, redemption is continually turned over and analyzed: Fr. Richard (p. 59) characterizes St. Paul's thought as dominated by "l'agape de la croix." It is through St. Paul that the crucifixion,

rather than the resurrection, came to be seen as the culminating point of the divine economy of salvation, and that Christ's death was revealed as a sacrifice for sinners which shows forth God's mercy and love (Rom. 8.32; Gal. 2. 20; Eph. 5.2, 25). It was through the Epistle to the Hebrews, the authenticity of which was not questioned until modern times, that this sacrificial description was elaborated and deepened by the application of the full weight of the Levitic tradition and Pauline allegorical exegesis. In this way, OT ritual was transposed into a transcendent mystery, and the priesthood of Christ established according to the order of Melchisedech, who was sine patre, sine matre, sine genealogia (Hebr. 7.3).

There is not a question of theoretical conflict here, or even of a theory properly so called. What is important is that, even in the writings of the New Testament, there are different ways to approach the redemption of man--that seeing Christ in the role of priestly mediator, redeemer (in the root sense of repurchasing), heavenly king, lamb of God, and several other roles, could refer to the overall salvific scheme in any one or any combination of ways. The vocabulary for all subsequent writers had been established.

b. The Fathers

Fully systematized theologies of Redemption are a phenomenon of the later medieval period. With the Fathers, as

with the apostolic writers, it is a question of assembling and organizing relevant texts which occur scattered throughout the author's theological writings.⁷

Scholars have contended for more than a century in an effort to reach agreement about the nature of the doctrine of Redemption in the Greek and Latin Fathers. Early scholars tended to deviate into apology on one side and partisan polemic on the other: Catholic writers sought to discover the roots of the Anselmian theory of satisfaction in the Fathers, while Protestants were discrediting all patristic theories save their own narrowly sacrificial view. In recent scholarship, however, a rapprochement of sorts has been achieved which seeks to avoid bruising categorizations and places less emphasis on the traditionally irreconcilable pairings, "objective" vs. "subjective"; "satisfactive" vs. "sacrificial." Gustav Aulén's conclusion (p. 4) that the central presentation of Redemption in the Fathers is dram-

⁷For the theology of Redemption in the patristic period see Rivière, Le dogme de la Rédemption, pp. 115-278; Richard, Le mystère de la Rédemption, pp. 95-130; H. E. W. Turner, The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption: A Study of the Development of Doctrine During the First Five Centuries (London, 1952); Gustav Aulén, Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of the Atonement, tr. A. G. Hebert from Den kristna försoningstanken [Stockholm, 1930] (London, 1965), pp. 1-80; and the two specialized studies of Rivière, Le dogme de la Rédemption chez saint Augustin, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1933) and Le dogme de la Rédemption après saint Augustin (Paris, 1930), books whose contentious and somewhat defensive tone cannot detract from their learning and synthesizing power. All of the above books have shaped the summary of patristic thought on the theology of Redemption given in this section.

atic, that the Fathers saw

Atonement as a Divine conflict and victory; Christ--Christus Victor--fights against and triumphs over the evil powers of the world, the "tyrants" under which mankind is in bondage and suffering, and in Him God reconciles the world to Himself [2 Cor. 5.19],

has been praised by Fr. Richard as a just description, while at the same time he demonstrates its consistency with Catholic orthodoxy:

En réalité . . . la "satisfaction" n'interrompt pas l'action salvatrice où, selon Aulén, l'Incarnation ne serait que "la condition de l'oeuvre de Rédemption"; elle en découle, au contraire, par voie de conséquence: puisque Dieu décide de se réconcilier l'humanité dans le Christ s'incarnant, mourant, et ressuscitant pour nous, l'humanité est appelée, en la Personne de son médiateur, à réparer sa faute, à rendre à Dieu, par lui et en lui, la parfaite glorification dont son péché était la négation. (Richard, p. 97)

The figure Christus victor is central to the ideas of St. Augustine on Redemption. Satan holds all men prisoners; his power as princeps huius mundi (Joan. 12.31) has brought mankind out of paradise de potestate tenebrarum (Col. 1.13) through the agency of human concupiscence and its consequent sin, which have subverted man's free will, subjected him to death, both of the body and, what was figured by the death of the body, death of the spirit (Hebr. 2.14), and given him to desire only slavery.⁸ But with the coming of Christ,

⁸"Universus mundus sub captivitate tenebatur"--Serm. 27.3, PL 38.179; "Diabolus et angeli ejus captivos nos duxerunt"--Enn. in Ps. 136.7, PL 37.1765. See Rivière, Le dogme de la Rédemption chez saint Augustin, pp. 16-19.

Satan's power is drastically curtailed, God's grace is made manifest to man in Him (Enn. in Ps. 103, 4.9-10, PL 37. 1384-1386; Enchiridion, 113, PL 40.285). God in allowing such disorder to prevail temporarily has demonstrated His justice by showing man subject to the executor of his own misfortunes--in the technical language of De libero arbitrio (3.110-112, CSEL 74.116-117), God has established an order of "secondary causes," Satan and his "jurisdiction" over man, which have no merit in themselves. God has, in a sense, objectified human sin in the devil, and given it its rightful place in the overall divine economy of salvation.

Christ's Incarnation is the beginning of the active phase of Redemption; His crucifixion is its culmination, and His resurrection is its glorious reaffirmation, a prefiguration of man's divinization. The Incarnation is the first evidence of the universal justice and beneficence of the active phase: only by sending His Son in human form could God accomplish man's rehabilitation with maximum harmony, justice, and goodness.⁹ Man's opposition to God through sin necessitates the sacrifice of the cross:

Nonne inimici eramus Deo et malam causam habebamus adversus Deum? Quis finiret causam istam malam? . . . Inter duos mediator; ergo Christus mediator inter hominem et Deum . . . Fundat sanguinem suum; deleat chirographum nostrum, componat inter nos et Deum, nostram voluntatem

⁹"Pertinebat etiam ad justitiam bonitatemque Creatoris, ut per eandem rationalem creaturam superaretur diabolus, quam se superasse gaudebat, et de ipso genere venientem, quod genus origine vitiata per unum tenebat universum"--De Trin. 13.17.22, PL 42.1032. Cf. De Trin. 13.18.23, PL 42.1032-1033.

corrigenz ad iustitiam, illius sententiam
flectens ad misericordiam.

(Enn. in Ps. 103.4.8,
PL 37.1383-1384)

Christ's death on the cross is a proper remedy both for original sin and its attendant concupiscence (Epist., 98.6, CSEL 34.527); a point-for-point agreement exists between the manner of Christ's saving action and the conditions of man's enslavement to Satan through sin: redemption follows naturally from the abolition of sin:

Morte suo quippe uno verissimo sacrificio pro nobis oblato, quidquid culparum erat unde nos principatus et potestates ad luenda supplicia iure detinebant, purgavit, abolebit, exstinxit; et sua resurrectione in novam vitam nos predestinatos vocavit, vocatos justificavit, iustificatos glorificavit [Rom. 8.30]. Ita diabolus hominem, quem per consensionem seductum, tanquam iure integro possidebat . . . amisit.

(De Trin., 4.13.17, PL 42.899-900)

The summary above, which stresses the relations between man and God through Christ, has omitted to mention a celebrated and much maligned secondary feature of St. Augustine's theology of Redemption so that it may be seen in the perspective of the major ideas. This secondary body of images and actions has to do with the relations between God and the devil with respect to fallen man and the redeeming Christ, and is known as the theology of the Devil's Rights. St. Augustine was by no means its originator, but his authority in support of the notion sent it with great momentum into the Middle Ages.

The scriptural basis of the theory of the Devil's Rights is a collection of New Testament passages which, taken

together, imply that fallen man, by his willful disobedience, came under the real jurisdiction of Satan, to which he remained subject until, through Christ, redemption was obtained. Sometimes the way in which this idea is expressed implies that Satan's power over men is his by law once man has fallen--that Satan has a certain just claim to man's soul, the rights which normally revert to a captor and owner. Those of the Fathers who accepted this way of thinking saw such implications in gospel passages such as the ones in which Christ, having just spoken of casting out devils, describes Himself as the man who potest intrare in domo fortis, et vasa ejus diripere . . . prius alligaverit fortem (Matt. 12. 29; cf. Luc. 11.21-22), and in passages such as Joan. 14.30, where Christ's denial of Satan's power over Himself was thought to imply the reality of Satan's power over man. And most compellingly, in those frequent uses of the figure of ransom or buying back (redemptio) in the Pauline epistles, the search for the party to whom the ransom was to be paid led to Satan as the logical choice. Rivière has commented that in such ideas "l'imagination tient plus d'une fois la place du raisonnement," but such fancies will be seen to have played an important part in the imagery of the poetry of the cross.

The problem posed is this. How can a just God redeem man without unjustly infringing upon the devil's rights? God must act with justice in all things--even to the extent of recognizing rights which were acquired by unjust means.

God must not use His omnipotent force indiscriminately, nor scorn just conventions for orderly transfer of property. As St. Irenaeus, the originator of the idea of the Devil's Rights, puts the case:

Potestas autem ejus [diaboli] est transgressio, et apostasia, et his colligavit hominem: per hominem ipsum iterum oportebat victum eum contrario colligari iisdem vinculis, quibus alligavit hominem

Potens in omnibus Dei Verbum, et non deficiens in sua justitia, juste etiam adversus ipsam conversus est apostasiam, ea quae sunt sua redimens ab ea; non cum vi . . . sed secundum suadela, quemadmodum decebat Deum suadentem, et non vim inferentem, accipere quae vellet: ut neque quod est justum confringeretur, neque antiqua plasmatio Dei deperiret.¹⁰

The "persuasion" mentioned is of course Christ's Incarnation and death, merciful toward man and just toward the devil, whose unlawful usurpation is thereby ended, yet at a certain just price.

St. Irenaeus did not mention that the ransom was paid to Satan, but the idea became current with Origen and was developed in the fourth century by St. Gregory of Nyssa into the theology of deception which formed the basis of so many later figures for the crucifixion. According to Gregory, the devil was tempted to give up his hold on man's soul in return for the soul of Christ, but found his hopes to profit by the exchange destroyed when he discovered that beneath the veil of Christ's flesh lay, miraculously con-

¹⁰Adv. haer. 5.21.3, PG 7.1182; Adv. haer. 5.1.1, PG 7.1121. Cf. Adv. haer. 5.21.1, PG 7.1179.

cealed, the Godhead itself:

Therefore, in order to secure that the ransom in our behalf might be easily accepted by him [Satan] who required it, the Deity was hidden under the veil of our nature, that so, as with ravenous fish, the hook of the Deity might be gulped down along with the bait of flesh, and there . . . the house of death . . . might vanish. (Orat. cat. magna, 24; NPNF 5.494-495)

To the objection that such deception was unworthy of God, Gregory replies that justice renders his due unto each: hence the deceiver Satan is justly deceived (Ibid., 26; NPNF 5.494-495).

Among the Latin Fathers the expression gained very wide currency, as a result of its adoption by the greatest doctors of the western Church: St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Leo, St. Gregory the Great. The metaphors used to express the deception and the purposes of these writers vary greatly according to the context and audience (the deception-figure of the mousetrap, for example, is used by St. Augustine only in his sermons, never in theological tracts), but the underlying ideas remained the same. St. Ambrose's primarily legal, mercantile imagery, derived like that of St. Jerome from Origen, gives form to the same general set of concepts--God's just actions, man's real subjection to the devil through sin, Christ's redemptive act combining just means and merciful ends--as the more daring imagery of St. Augustine or St. Gregory the Great.¹¹

¹¹For example, St. Ambrose commenting Luke 22.52: "Peccatis inquit [Propheta--Isai. 50.1] vestris venditi estis. Venditio propter peccata nostra, propter boni-

The forms under which this doctrine appeared emphasize sometimes the saving will of the Godhead, sometimes the forms under which Redemption was accomplished; now the legal processes which govern the transfer of custody of man from Satan to God, now the moral significance of the deception. A traditional distinction is that between the so-called "political" form of the doctrine, in which Satan's killing of the guiltless Christ is seen as an abuse of his power over man, for which retribution shortly overtakes the overreacher when he loses that power; and the so-called "juridical" scheme, detailed previously, where solicitousness for the devil's rights determines the mechanism of man's Redemption.¹²

tatem autem dei redemptio peccatorum" (Expositio ev. sec. Luc., 10.66, CCSL 14.365), and the financial specificity of passages like Epist. 41.7-8, PL 16.1162-1163; Exp. ev. sec. Luc., 7.114, CCSL 14.251-252: "Sunt etiam quaedam nostrorum nundinae delictorum. Itaque ariarum capti inlecebris voluptatum aut venundamur sub peccato aut redimimur a peccato. Christus nos redimit, adversarius vendit; ille auctionatur ad mortem, hic redimit ad salutem." St. Jerome uses quite similar language commenting the same passage from Isaiah: "Deus . . . loquitur: . . . scelera vestra atque peccata vos daemonibus vendiderunt, ut praesentis saeculi voluptatibus irretiti, et vos parentem, et illa coniugem derelinqueret" (Comm. in Esaiam, 13.1.1, CCSL 73A.549). Cf. Comm. in Esaiam, 14.52.2-3, CCSL 73A.576: "Redimentur autem qui voluerint credere, nequaquam argento et pecunia, sed pretioso Christi sanguine," and Comm. in Eph., 1.1.7, PL 26.481: "Nec ante veniam accipere possumus delictorum, et servi esse cessamus, nisi pretium pro nobis cruentus quondam victor acceperit."

¹²This distinction was first made by Rivière, Le dogme de la Rédemption: Essai d'étude historique (Paris, 1905), p. 395, and has been taken over by later scholars such as Richard and D. E. DeClerck, "Questions de sotériologie médiévale," Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale, XIII (1946), 154.

St. Augustine lent his authority to that of St. Hilary of Poitiers (ca. 315-367), St. Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona (d. before 392), and the author of the pseudo-Ambrosian commentaries on St. Paul's epistles, in supporting the first of these forms. In De libero arbitrio, 3.104-112 (CSEL 74.114-117), is an extended passage on the Redemption: man before the coming of Christ was subject to the devil's power as a result of the Fall, but Christ's coming worked salvation for man according to the eternal laws of God's justice:

Atque verbum dei unicus dei filius diabolum, quem semper sub legibus suis habuit et habebit, homine indutus etiam homini subiugavit, nihil ei extorquens violento dominatu, sed superans eum lege iustitiae . . . tam diu potestas eius valeret donec interficeret iustum, in quo nihil dignum morte posset ostendere

Hence believers in Christ are justly removed from the devil's power.

There is no reason to suppose that any of this goes contrary to standard Augustinian theology on the nature of the devil's hold over man, which here as everywhere is a temporary state of enslavement to sin which is powerless to impede the ultimate triumph of God's will, and not an independently powerful evil principle. Rather, in these passages and in numerous others (see Rivière, Le dogme de la Rédemption, pp. 405-408) of Augustine's work are to be found felicitous recapitulations of the earlier patristic tradition, in a form which provided the metaphoric substance of many

subsequent imaginative productions, poetical and otherwise. In the words of Rivière (Le dogme . . . chez saint Augustin, p. 246), "Il est indéniable que la préoccupation du démon et de ces 'droits' accompagne régulièrement celle de Dieu dans toutes les réflexions d'Augustin sur l'économie rédemptrice," but the place of such reflections within the essentially sacrificial terms of the relations between God and sinful man is clear.

c. The Later Middle Ages

The Augustinian pattern was the only pattern which commanded authority in the western Church from the time of its formulation and acceptance by St. Prosper of Aquitaine, St. Leo, and St. Caesarius of Arles to the eleventh century. And in fact, despite the celebrated commentary of St. Anselm exposing the inner workings of the patristic faith, and his repudiation of the Devil's Rights, and despite the discreditation of both the Devil's Rights and the "objective" or sacrificial Redemption by Pierre Abelard, the same Augustinian formulations remained the major tradition throughout the later medieval period.¹³ Abelard met with massive resistance from St. Bernard and William of St. Thierry, but

¹³For the history of the Redemption in the later Middle Ages see Rivière, pp. 291-373; Richard, pp. 131 ff; Aulén, pp. 81-100; D. E. DeClerck, "Droits du démon et nécessité de la rédemption: Les écoles d'Abélard et de Pierre Lombard," RThAM, XIV (1947), 32-64 and "Le dogme de la rédemption: De Robert de Melun à Guillaume d'Auxerre," RThAM, XIV (1947), 252-286, and Kurt Ruh, "Zur Theologie des mittelalterlichen Passionstraktats," Theologische Zeitschrift, VI (1950), 17-39.

the resistance was not couched in Anselmian, or rigorously
satisfactive terms. William's Disputatio adversus Abaelardum,
7 (PL 180.274CD), steers a traditional patristic path:

Nec a Deo Patre quasi ad satisfaciendum est re-
quisitus, cum tamen ei plenissime satisfecerit
oblatus. Nam in cooperatione humanae salutis
manifeste declaravit unitas Trinitatis, quando
sicut Apostolus dicit, "Deus erat in Christo
mundum reconcilians sibi."

The extended discussion by Peter Lombard in Sententiae, III.
13, 18-22 is profoundly traditional, avoiding the Anselmian
emphasis upon the crucifixion at the expense of the other
phases of the salvific economy (Rivière, Le dogme de la
Rédemption, p. 313) and quoting heavily from St. Ambrose,
Bede, and the sermons and De Trinitate of St. Augustine him-
self. The Devil's Rights remained a powerful metaphor. An-
selm of Laon refused to disavow it, and even professed fol-
lowers of the Cur Deus homo such as Odo of Cambrai and the
anonymous author of the Libellus Cur Deus homo,

ne soufflent mot de sa critique des droits
du démon. Hermann de Tournai et Rupert de
Deutz se montrent hésitants. Tout en reje-
tant les droits du démon, Honorius d'Autun
et Hugues de Saint-Victor veulent qu'on use
envers lui de certains égards. Richard de
Saint-Victor parle encore du "droit antique"
du tentateur. On voit donc à quel point
cette doctrine traditionnelle était ancrée
dans les esprits.¹⁴

Perhaps the greatest contribution of Abelard and St.
Anselm to the spirituality of the poems edited here is not
in their technical theology, but in the emotional emphasis

¹⁴DeClerck, RThAM, XIII (1946), 172.

they placed on the Passion--Abelard simply by arguing the revolutionary thesis that Christ's death was effective mainly in that by dying Christ made man love Him the more;¹⁵ Anselm by bringing to the question of the Passion fully as much emotional depth, in his Meditationes, as he had brought intellectual penetration in the Cur Deus homo.

Most misunderstanding of Anselm's theology is traceable to an unwillingness to allow aspects of the Deity or His operations to be discussed independently, in isolation. For some, such precision must always imply overemphasis on one quality or another; but passages such as the following, which show St. Anselm in the act of prayer, remind us that his faith remained that of those who sought less understanding, and that in Cur Deus homo, as in the Proslogion, rational speculation is only another form of monastic withdrawal to the cubiculum mentis:

Sancta crux, per quam nobis ad memoriam crux illa reducitur, in qua dominus noster IESUS Christus nos per mortem suam a morte aeterna, in quam omnes misere tendebamus, ad vitam aeternam, quam peccando perdideramus, resuscitavit: adoro, veneror et glorifico in te crucem illam quam repraesentas, et in illa eundem miseratorem ac dominum nostrum, et quae per illam misericorditer operatus est. O crux amabilis, in qua est salus, vita et resurrectio nostra! O lignum pretiosum, per quod sal-

¹⁵"In hoc justificati sumus in sanguine Christi et Deo reconciliati, quod, per hanc singularem gratiam nobis exhibitam quod Filius suus nostram suscepit naturam, et in ipsos nos tam verbo quam exemplo instituendo usque ad mortem perstiterit, nos sibi amplius per amorem astringit" (In Rom. 2.3, PL 178.836) and, more simply, "Redemptio itaque nostra est illa summa in nobis per passionem Christi dilectio" (ibid.).

vati et liberati sumus! O signum venerandum,
per quod deo signati sumus! O crux gloriosa,
in qua sola nos gloriari oportet!

Illi crudeles . . . insipientissimi te elegerunt, ut per te scelus impietatis suae perpetrarent; ille [Christus] te elegit, ut per te peccatores a morte erueret. Illi ut vitam interficerent, ille ut mortem perimeret. Illi ut salvatorem damnarent, ille ut damnatos salvaret. Illi ut vivificantem mortificarent, ille ut mortuos vivificaret. Illi insipienter et crudeliter, ille sapienter et misericorditer. Non ergo es, O crux admirabilis, aestimanda secundum intentionem crudelis insipientiae, sed secundum effectum misericordis sapientiae.

(Oratio IV, Ad sanctam crucem;
Schmitt ed. III.11.1-23)

Later, under the influence of St. Bernard, Anselm's and Abelard's radically opposed emphases on emotion were simplified and to some extent vulgarized, and the Passion was isolated and rendered in all its human agony to bring the Christian supplicant into an identification with the suffering Christ. Sanguinary details and torments were exaggerated for wider appeal. It is possible, as Kurt Ruh has shown (ThZ, VI (1950), 29-39), to see beneath the later exaggerations elements of the scholastic satisfaction-theory; but, particularly where the poetry is concerned, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that what is being referred to is no longer theological ideas but rather states of religious emotion defined by the standard formulas for mystic union with God found in the Stimulus amoris, St. Bonaventure, Heinrich of St. Gall, and others (Ruh, 29). Specifically what seems to be involved is a substitution of passive contemplation and compassion for the active meditation required

by the earlier poetry. This distinction will be clarified and developed briefly in the final introductory section.

3. The Poetry of the Cross

For reasons which should be clear by now, it is impossible to separate the cross from the crucifixion when dealing with the poetry of either subject.¹⁶ The early poetry is explicitly theological, both early and late devotional poetry often actually unites the cross and the crucified Christ, and even verses which deal explicitly with legends about the wood of the cross imply certain typologies (e.g., Christ as new Adam is implied by the growth of the woods of the cross from the three seeds said to have been planted under the tongue of the dying Adam) which are inseparable from the crucifixion and hence theological by default, if not by design. Henri de Lubac (Catholicisme, 4th ed., p. 408n) has noted that early exegeses of Ephes. 3.18 tend to identify the Logos with the cross, and the persistence of this mode of thinking is well documented in the poetry of all periods--in the late 13th or early 14th century, for example, by the opening verse pair of Text 12 of the present

¹⁶There is no full-scale study of the poetry of the cross. Josef Szövérfy has published a series of articles on certain hymns which gives some historical framework but which stops short of an esthetic synthesis: "Venantius Fortunatus and the Earliest Hymns to the Holy Cross," Classical Folia, XX (1966), 107-122; "'Crux Fidelis': Prolegomena to a History of the Holy Cross Hymns," Traditio, XXII (1966), 1-41; "Early Hymns and Sequences of the Holy Cross," Classical Folia, XX (1966), 3-17; and "Liturgical Sequences of the Holy Cross," Classical Folia, XIX (1965), 125-137.

collection: "Crux patefecit iter tendentibus ad paradisum, / Namque quod obstabat jus est fatale recisum." In this sense, there is no such thing as poetry specifically of the cross; when we are dealing with poems entitled De sancta cruce or De laude sanctae crucis we are in fact facing a much wider range of subject matter than appears on the surface.

Basically there are two kinds of poems which are constructed of traditional typologies and figures for the cross. In one kind, favored by most medieval poets, the figures are ordered in a logical pattern, commentary is added where it is necessary, and the imagery is developed in what might be termed emblematic ways. A second type of poem, more common in the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, arranges the figures in series, without commentary or emblematic development of any kind. These texts are survivals of prose lists of figures of the cross and operate according to a wholly different devotional esthetic. A complete history of poetic reference would be able to establish distinctions based on such different esthetics. For the present it is possible only to clarify the concept in a general way by analyzing two sample poems.¹⁷

An example of how the first sort of poem uses its Biblical and traditional material to embody theological

¹⁷In the course of the following analyses the inadequacy of the dualism implied in comments like the following should become clear: "Beyond the theological symbolism lie a pathos and pity by virtue of which the poetry--and this is rare in a medieval hymn--achieves a triumph over the dogmatic intention"--F. J. E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry (Oxford, 1927), p. 91.

ideas is Fortunatus's Pange lingua gloriosi, probably the most influential cross poem of the Middle Ages:

In Honore sanctae Crucis

Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis
Et super crucis tropaeo, dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter redemptor orbis immolatus vicerit.

De parentis protoplasti fraude factor condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis morte morsu corrui,
Ipse lignum tunc notavit, damna ligni ut solveret.

Hoc opus nostrae salutis ordo depoposcerat,
Multiformis perditoris arte ut artem falleret
Et medelam ferret inde, hostis unde laeserat.

Quando venit ergo sacri plenitudo temporis,
Missus est ab arce patris natus orbis conditor
Atque ventre virginali carne factus prodiit.

Vagit infans inter arta conditus praesaepia,
Membra pannis involuta virgo mater adligat,
Et pedes manusque, crura stricta pingit fascia.

Lustra sex qui iam peracta tempus implens corporis,
Se volente, natus ad hoc, passioni deditus,
Agnus in crucis levatur immolandus stipite.

Hic acetum, fel, arundo, sputa, clavi, lancea
Mite corpus perforatur, sanguis, unda profluit,
Terra, pontus, astra, mundus quo lavantur flumine.

Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis,
Nulla talem silva profert flore, fronde, germine,
Dulce lignum dulce clavo dulce pondus sustinens.

Flecte ramos, arbor alta, tensa laxa viscera
Et rigor lentescat ille, quem dedit nativitas,
Ut superni membra regis mite tendas stipite.

Sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi
Atque portum praeparare nauta mundo naufrago,
Quem sacer cruor perunxit fusus agni corpore.
(AH 50.71)

The first stanza introduces the martial imagery through which the theme of the victory of Christ is developed: the joining of glorious battle, the tropaeum crucis, character-

izing the triumph of the sacrificed Redeemer of the world, states the paradox of Redemption in classic terms. Christ is the creator who must suffer for the guilt of Adam; when he fell from grace, God noted the tree by which he fell, so that when the time came for man to be redeemed, the punishments which the tree brought about could be ended by the same means. Mercantile language, familiar from St. Paul and the Fathers, is here used to express the desire of God to redeem man even at the time of the Fall itself--evidence of His universal mercy. The military language continues in the third stanza, where the military terms ordo and deposco are used to suggest the inexorable working out of God's plan. The enemy is revealed next; his tactics are guile and cunning, and it is hinted that, since the devil's guile is to be repaid in kind, the idea of the Devil's Rights is involved. The first part of the poem thus ends with the terms of the battle defined.

The active phase of Redemption begins with the Incarnation of Christ--and the transition from battle to saving grace is made by uniting two motifs: Christ the warrior, the victor, sent from the fortress of the Father in the fulness of time (Gal. 4.4); and the Blessed Virgin, whose merciful mildness offset some of the military tone. The two sides of the patristic formula for Redemption are thus signalized: the defeat of Satan and the merciful motive of God. In the fifth stanza, as the saving economy moves toward fulfillment, aspects of the incarnate Christ-child

which point forward to Calvary are specified, such as His cry, His limbs bound in rags (both hands and feet are mentioned--the actual sites of the nails); the Virgin "adorns His rigid legs with the cloth" in a foreshadowing of both the posture and the pain of the cross.

In the sixth and seventh stanzas the redemptive economy reaches its culmination. Thirty years have passed, but all necessary poetic preparations have been made, and the idea of sacrifice has been inserted most skilfully in the mention of the lustra, the expiatory suovetauriliae, in which the Roman censors every five years sacrificed an ox, a sheep, and a pig for the benefit of the entire populace.¹⁸ This pagan practice is set in contrast to the sacrifice of Christ.

Details to fill in the theological argument are added: Christ was crucified willingly (se volente natus ad hoc), given over to His suffering, the Lamb is lifted up to be sacrificed on the tree of the cross (Joan. 1.29; Apoc. 5.12). The stanza is very closely constructed. The suggestions of sacrifice in lustra, corporis, passioni are not made explicit until the last line, where agnus brings all into focus and very subtly makes the point that, unlike pagan or Hebrew sacrifices which recurred periodically, Christ's sacrifice was accomplished once for all time. The arma Christi are enumerated, all the ignominy and suffering of Christ is suggested,

¹⁸ Practiced in the army as well as in civilian life--see Pauly-Wissowa, Reallexikon, XIII.2 (1927), 2056-2057. That six of these passed between Christ's birth and death conveniently coincides with the idea that Christ comes in the sixth age of the world.

while at the same time the effect of the suffering is kept in the forefront of the reader's mind. Suggestions of baptismal cleansing and universal sanctification (Terra, pontus, astra, mundus quo lavantur flumine) stem from NT adaptations of Levitical traditions (Hebr. 9.12-14, 12.24, 13.11-12; 1 Joan. 1.7, 2.2, 4.10). The battle for man's soul is won.

For its part in this saving drama, the cross is eulogized in the final three stanzas. Fortunatus characterizes it as fidelis and nobilis, keeping the military spirit alive; it is unique among trees and participates in a kind of supernatural germination. Redemption was accomplished paradoxically; now paradox becomes characteristic of the apparatus by which it was accomplished--the punishing nails of the preceding stanza have a connotation after Christ's death directly opposite from their connotation in the arma list: they are called dulces clavos. The cross itself is honored by bearing the burden of Christ, just as Christ had borne the cross on the journey to Golgotha. Its qualities and those of Christ begin to merge. The ninth stanza urges the cross to participate in the balancing of justice and mercy which operates earlier in the text--it should bend its arms, which for the sacrifice were natively rigid as the Christ child's legs; ease Christ's stretched flesh (or is the material of the cross itself meant by viscera--so close is the identification); show its merciful qualities as instrument of God's grace. Finally the cross is addres-

sed in terms which suggest that just as Christ was uniquely capable to provide a sacrifice for man's sin, being both God and man, so is the cross uniquely capable, in the light of the idea of modus conveniens suggested in the second stanza of the poem, to be the instrument by which that sacrifice was accomplished. In the last line of the poem a further connection is suggested when the cross, a mariner readying a safe harbor for the shipwrecked world, is described as anointed with blood from the body of the Lamb--recalling (even verbally: crura, cruor) the legs of Christ colorful with cloth in the manger.

Opposed to the logical development and poetic expertise of this sort of poem are poems which are really no more than catalogues of traditional associations. These poems must be organized according to a different pattern from that which we usually think of as poetic--that is, combinations of attributes and images which reveal qualities of the subject, or which alter traditional ways of thinking about it. They are simple catalogues like the following lines (Text 7 of this edition):

Crux est muscipula, baculus, torcular, et ara;
 Tau, lignum dulce, sycomorus clipeusque.
 Crux stachimus, prelum, navis vel malus, aratrum
 Caeli, scripturae crux clavis, virgaque crux est.
 (Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 10.A.vii, f. 199r)

This poem and others like it demand of the reader or listener that he supply essential knowledge of traditional symbols and theological associations and, in a sense, write the poem himself. The reader of devotional poetry of this

kind essentially performs a unique devotional act, an act which is more than an aperçu unrelated to higher metaphysical principles; he fabricates the understanding which the poet, in leaving out explicit statements and connections, has left it up to him to do. The simple grammar of these poems is a stylistic reflection of this esthetic: complex relations are not part of the stylistic texture itself, and one looks for a different order of religious experience. Each word or phrase of the poem above has associations which lead outward into the linked universe of medieval symbolism, and a reader properly attuned to that universe can meditate to good effect on the subject of the cross using only the sixteen clues given him. This is a second way in which medieval poets organized their traditional associations.

The major historical change in poetry of the cross, however, does not have to do with formal organization. It has to do with the shift from the theology of Redemption to the via crucis of individual piety as the major body of referent ideas; or perhaps the change should be defined as a change from articulated intellectual reference to interior emotional affection. This change is roughly parallel to the rise of the fraternal orders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The motto of the order of the Franciscans was Gal. 6. 14: Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini, and the cross poetry of St. Bonaventura (1221-1274), Minister-General of the order after 1257, is typical of the changes described

above. Of special importance is his hymn entitled Laudismus de sancta cruce but better known by its incipit, Recordare sanctae crucis (AH 50.571-574). The very first stanza indicates the prevailing spirituality and intention:

Recordare sanctae crucis,
Qui perfectam vitam ducis,
Delectare jugiter;
Sanctae crucis recordare,
Et in ipsa meditare
Insatiabiliter.

Bonaventura is capable of using the traditional symbolism, but he uses it much less often than the earlier poets. The traditional distance, maintained through the intellectual schemata of the typologies and symbolic references, undeniably gives way to some extent to a personalized emotionalism and immediacy reminiscent of the meditations of St. Anselm. But the extent of the change must not be overestimated. Bonaventura can still write,

Crux est navis, crux est portus,
Crux deliciarum hortus,
In quo florent omnia;
Crux est fortis armatura
Et protectio segura
Conterens daemonia.
(R. s. c., stanza 18)

The presence of a stanza such as this, with its strong suggestion of the Christus victor background, must qualify for the present time attempts to present Franciscan poetry as a wholly different religious medium. Clarification of the problems of the esthetic development of the poetry of the cross in the Middle Ages as a whole, beyond the present bare sketch, must await the appearance of a volume devoted to the subject.

The Texts

My aim has been to provide a readable edition of the manuscript sources for each of the following forty-one poems. I have not attempted a diplomatic text, nor even been scrupulous to reproduce the pointing, the orthographic instabilities, or the idiosyncrasies of capitalization of the medieval scribes. The following principles have been adopted in the interests of clarity and simplicity.

Punctuation. In most cases punctuation has been added according to modern conservative standards. In a few Latin texts the medieval pointing has been retained in the belief that by so doing the relations of the poems' ideas are better indicated. These places are clearly marked in the headnotes to the texts in question. In Middle English poems, compound words and prefixes which are separated in the MSS (e. g. a geyn) have been hyphenated without footnote indication of the fact.

Orthography. All variant readings and departures from MS orthography are cited in the footnotes to the texts, with the exception that in the longer poems only the first two occurrences of any single variant are noticed: the reader may assume that further occurrences vary identically. The standard spellings throughout the Latin texts are those of Lewis and Short: MS forms which do not agree with this standard have been changed, and all such changes noted by underscorings in the text, textual footnotes, or both (e. g., MS celo becomes caelo, no footnote; MS rumphea becomes

rhomphaea, footnote only; MS penitencia becomes paenitentia, with footnote). MS forms cited by Lewis and Short with secondary authority (e. g., commorior) have been allowed to stand. Final -e and -ę are given as -ae without footnote references; where the extra letter is inserted, it is underscored without exception. I and j have been regularized according to Lewis and Short's system of preferences.

Where Latin or Middle English manuscripts do not differentiate between consonantal v and vocalic u, I have silently done so (upon, not vpon; vultus, not uultus). Nomina sacra are expanded silently together with all other conventional abbreviations. Where doubt exists about the meaning of an abbreviation, a footnote and in some cases an explanatory note is added.

Capitalization. Medieval capitalization is often capricious; hence the capitalization of the present texts has been put in accordance with modern usage. Appellations for Christ other than Dominus, Filius Dei, Verbum Dei, and in Middle English, Lord--that is, all "secondary" figurative and typological titles--are uniformly lower case in this edition even if they are capitalized in the MSS; similarly, proper names and names of the Persons of the Trinity are capitalized regardless of MS practice.

1. The Old and New Laws

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. AA.90.27, fol. 2^v.
11th century (Walther).

Hoc semel ablato, cursum prior ille peregit;

Quodque fuit signum praesens effectus abegit.

Quis locus aurorae postquam sol venit ad ortum?

Quis locus est Notis teneat cum navita portum?

Lex aurora fuit, bos et capra vota fuere,

5

Crux sol, crux portus manet haec ea praeterire.

Crux clausit templum, crux solvit aenigmata legis;

Sub cruce cessat ephod et deficit unctio regis.

Hircus, ovis, passer, vervex et adeps vitulorum

Nil praeconantur Deus hostia finis eorum.

10

Pareat Hebraeus ovi, caro carnes abstulit arae:

Est peccudum peccudes post Christum sacrificare.

6 manet] inserted above the line

2. Traveller, Stay

Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS. 96, fol. CLXII^v=167^v.
12th century (Walther).

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS. IV. qu. 12,
fol. 270^r.

Hic sta, ne cessas: venit post semina messis,

Post fletum risus, sed post luctum paradisus.

Hic rerum Dominus est Deus; huc vertice vultum

Et caput et genua: immensus es, Domine. Flecte,
inerte, et summa mensura debet

Amare ab his quos pretioso sanguine redimisti.

5

3. A Prayer to the Crucified Christ

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12617,
fol. 1^r. 12th century.

In cruce fac sanos, Deus; in cruce justifica nos:

Mortis jura gravis tua solvit morte sacra vis.

Solve malis plenos, vitiis foedos abole nos.

No. 2. 1 cessas] Bern cesses venit . . . messis] Bern
venient . . . messes 2 sed post] Bern post (following this
word the parchment has been scraped: only initial h and
terminal um are legible before paradisus) 3-5] These lines
are found only in the Wrocław MS 4 immensus] MS in mensus
inerte] see note summa] see note 5 pretioso] MS precioso

No. 3. 3 vitiis] MS viciis

4. De XII crucibus
quibus insignentur corpora in nocte

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 1687,
fol. 44^r. 12th century.

Augmentum fidei fit magnum cuique fideli
Nocte super corpus bisseñas ponere cruces.
Primam frons habeat, oculus dexterque secundam,
Tertia crux oculum debet munire sinistrum.
Dextram crux quarta tegat aurem, quinta sinistram. 5
Postea rex nasus cruce sexta galeatus;
Guttur quo gustus discernimus atque sapes
Septima crux ornet munimine spirituali.
Pectoris octavum signum crucis imprimat arcam,
De quo discretis cunctis sapientia prodit. 10
Dextra manus quae signa facit non indiget ullo,
Sed cruce mox nona curet velare sinistram.
Decima crux lumbos praecingat ne fluat inde
Quo caro letetur [vel] spiritus inficiatur.
Crux underna pedem dextrum, duodena sinistrum 15
Muniat, ut numerus completus sit duodenus.

5] A word cancelled between quarta and tegat 9 arcam]
MS archam 11 signa] A letter has been cancelled between
i and g 12 cruce] MS crux, with dot of expunction below x
and ce inserted above sinistram] MS sig nistra 14 vel]
There is a hole in the MS of about two letters' width, l is
legible on the right side 15 sinistrum] MS sinistru

5. Tractatus de laude crucis

Oxford, St. John's College, MS. Ioh. Bapt. 120,
ff. 77^r-83^r. Early 13th century.

Incipit proemium in tractatum rhythmicè conpositum de laude crucis

Ad salutiferae crucis signaculum;
Divino munere salvantis saeculum,
Jugis sit opere dulce spectaculum;
Manus attollere et mentis oculum.

Dulce spectaculum, sed mentis liberae;

5

Ad cordis oculum Christum reducere,
Qui memor exulum et gentis miserae,
Sanavit saeculum in suo vulnere.

Verum de vulnere fluxit remedium,
De Christi latere salutis pretium,
Ut quod in opere fuit supplicium;
Novo sit foedere vitae mysterium.

10

Curans contrariis Christus contraria;
Opponit vitiis virtutum studia,
Nostris ineptiis sua supplicia,
Vitae deliciis crucis opprobria.

15

Illata vulnera lapsis inproperat;
Qui crucis aspera pro lapsis tolerat,
A salutifera cruce degenerat;

Qui carnis opera in se non macerat.

20

Christo conmoritur qui pie mortuum;

Incipit rhythmicè] MS Rithmice 10 pretium] MS precium
12 mysterium] MS misterium 14 vitiis] MS viciis

Piorum sequitur votis affectuum,
 Ad quod pertingitur, si dux sit gressuum;
 Is ad quem tenditur per iter arduum.

Sinon rependitur pro morte mutuum; 25
 Se gratis quaeritur pro nobis mortuum,
 Decens est igitur et vitae congruum;
 Quod pie geritur; esse perpetuum.

Perennis vigeat et sit in gloria;
 Quae mundum recreat mortis memoria, 30
 Nec Christi pigeat sequi vestigia;
 Quibus nos praerant ad vitae gaudia.

Crux nostra gloria, crux nostrum gaudium,
 Crucis memoria sit ad remedium,
 Sit inter proelia nos infestantium; 35
 Crucis victoria vitae praesidium.

Haec est intentio, haec summa paginae;
 Scire quo pretio, quove nos ordine;
 Vel quo consilio Deus in homine;
 Hominem proprio redemit sanguine. 40

Incipit tractatus rhythrice compositus
de laude crucis et eius effectu

Ante luciferum a Patre genitus;
 Labores pauperum pensans et gemitus;
 Sol auctor siderum nobis est editus;
 In fine temporum nascens humanitus.

In sole posuit sol tabernaculum; 45

29 perennis] MS perhennis 38 pretio] MS precio quove]
 MS quo ve 40/41 rhythrice] MS Rithmice

Cum carnis induit Christus umbraculum,
Nec summa claruit luce vestibulum;
In quo sol latuit illustrans saeculum.

Virga Davidicae stirpis erigitur;
De qua mirifice flos novus nascitur,
Si rei mysticae fides exquiritur;
Mariam respice de qua sol oritur.

50

Auctoris omnium summique luminis;
Reclinatorium fit alvus Virginis,
Fert privilegium mater in feminis;
Facta triclinium Dei et hominis.

55

Praefatio brevis de casu et reparatione hominis

Ad novi luminis invitat semitas;
Abjecta criminis vetusta caecitas,
Cum sit propaginis humanae dignitas;
Caelestis hominis assumpta novitas.

60

Ut vitae veteris laxentur debita;
A curis inferis homo cor excita,
Quanta de superis sint gratis praestita;
Quis tui generis sit honor cogita.

Humani generis excedes pulverem;
Si novum sequeris non Adam veterem,
Quem primi sceleris ad scelus celerem;
Fecit in posteris culpa degenerem.

65

Exclisit aequitas peccantem eminus,

Luit posteritas paternum facinus,
Sed via veritas et vita Dominus;
Per mortis semitas fit mortis terminus.

70

Quid corvus . . . quid columba significet

De membris igitur carnis virgineae;
Ramus excerpitur virentis oleae,
In quo porrigitur signum clementiae,
Spes restituitur et pax Ecclesiae.

75

Columba fidei fida praenuntia;
Partus virginei signat insignia,
In quo corporei conceptus gaudia;
Caelestis olei praevenit gratia.

80

In ramo viridi Christum considera,
Qui partus floridi proles fructifera;
Post saeculi fluidi fluctus et funera;
Regni jam solidi firmavit foedera.

Nota perfidie corvus inuritur,
Sub cuius specie Judaea tangitur,
Quae dum illuvie legis obvolvitur;
Ad arcam gratiae necdum revertitur.

85

De annunciatione dominica sancta per angelum

Salutis nuntius salutat Virginem,
Modum secretius pandens et ordinem;
Quo Dei Filius assumens hominem;

90

72/73 corvus . . . quid] The rubric is badly worn
73 membris] MS menbris 75 clementiae] MS clemencie
77 praenuntia] MS prenuncia 80 gratia] MS gracia
88 arcam] MS archam gratiae] MS gracie

Humanum dignius dicat originem.

Audit, nec haesitat ad vocem nuntii;
 Qui summi recitat verba consilii,
 Quae nam sit cogitat vox ista gaudii; 95
 Nec Matrem dubitat se fore Filii.

Obumbrans Spiritus Beatae Virgini;
 Non hanc humanitus adaptat semini,
 Sed viam penitus excludens homini;
 Matrem divinitus fecundat Domini. 100

Felix introitus, felix conceptio;
 Quam Sancti Spiritus praevenit unctio,
 Ut tanto caelitus apta mysterio,
 Puraque penitus paretur mansio.

Sponsae vestibulum sponsus ingreditur; 105
 Nec sic signaculum pudoris solvitur;
 Quasi per osculum os ori jungitur;
 Cum Deus homini per carnem nectitur.

De conceptione Christi facta per Sanctum Spiritum

Adest imperio Patris obediens;
 A caeli solio salvator veniens, 110
 Parit in gaudio gaudium pariens,
 Fecunda Filio sed virum nesciens.

Rerum principium nusquam deficiens,
 Capit initium de nostro capiens,
 Quae sunt mortalium in se suscipiens, 115

Et vitae gaudium per mortem largiens.

Aaron arida virga re floruit;

Dum Virgo florida factorem genuit,

Fide fit gr̄avida quae gr̄atum habuit;

Quod Dei provida virtus disposuit.

120

Parit nec aperit portam egressio;

Cum non praecesserit partum corruptio,

Candor non deperit oppanso lilio;

Nec pudor interit nascente Filio.

Humano tegitur majestas habitu;

125

Fitque quod agitur totum in spiritu,

Auris non laeditur vocis introitu;

Nec Virgo patitur in prolis exitu.

De integra virginitate Matris Domini

Aeterno numine praecedens omnia;

Verbum de Virgine procedit regia,

130

Ut sint in homine Christo communia;

Quae sunt in homine vel Deo propria.

Vellus compluitur, nec madet area,

Ardet; nec uritur vi rubus ignea,

Aquis non solvitur fiscella scirpea,

135

Nec partu laeditur caro virginea.

Nil privilegio pudoris demitur;

Cum Virgo Filio fecunda creditur,

Solari radio vitrum non rumpitur;

Nec puerperio pudor excluditur.

140

Puer qui clauditur puellae gremio;

Cuncta complectitur potenti brachio,
 Si modus quaeritur succumbit ratio,
 Nec sensu capitur Christi conceptio.

De incarnatione Verbi et gemina natura in Christo

Manens quod fuerat qui nasci voluit; 145
 Quam non habuerat naturam induit,
 Sic se contemperat quod neutram destruit;
 Nec nostram alterat nec suam minuit.

Sic ineffabili modo quo voluit;
 Majestas humili sese conseruit 150
 Nec impassibili naturae nocuit;
 Quicquid passibili inferri potuit.

Latet in homine tecta divinitas,
 Sumpta de Virgine regnat humanitas,
 Nec est in homine Christo diversitas; 155
 Quamvis sit germine naturae veritas.

Sub uno nomine personae simplicis;
 Effectum geminae naturae conspicias,
 Et quem in homine mortalem aspicias;
 In sui numine consistit apicis. 160

De nativitate Christi nuntiata pastoribus per angelum

Desit hinc hominis tuta perfidia;
 Quod nulla numinis norit indicia,
 Ad partum Virginis furat insignia;
 Quae novi luminis probent exordia.
 Dum nocte media pastores vigilant; 165
 Ducis primordia nascentes rutilant,

Cives cum gloria caelestes jubilant,
Et luce praevia caelos enubilant.

Caelestis igitur regis natalia;
Laeta prosequitur caeli militia, 170
Dum Verbo jungitur carnis substantia;
Pax terris redditur, et caelis gloria.

Res miro geritur plena mysterio,
Quod hospes nascitur, quod in praesepio;
Rex caeli ponitur non in palatio, 175
Nec locus quaeritur in diversorio.

Cuius obnoxia domus despicitur,
Spernit palatia qui pauper nascitur,
Venit in propria rex, nec suscipitur,
Inter praesepia pastor agnoscitur. 180

Cur Dominus fuerit circumcisis

Patris imperia disponens caelitus;
Patri per omnia par unigenitus,
De stirpe regia per carnem editus;
Venit in propria, sed non est agnitus.

Mira res agitur sensumque superat, 185
In fine nascitur, qui semper fuerat,
Legi subicitur, qui legem dederat,
Et circumciditur qui caelis imperat.

Ad hoc dominica servit dignatio,
Non ut Mosaica regnet traditio, 190

171 substantia] MS substancia 175 palatio] MS palacio
190 Mosaica] MS mosayca

Sed ut jam mystica sit circumcisio;
Excidens lubrica cordis contritio.

In Dei Filio finis est omnium;
Immo perfectio facta legalium,
Eius arbitrio mutans officium; 195
Cuius imperio sumpsit exordium.

Sol jubar exerit, cedit obscuritas,
Figura praeterit, patescit veritas,
Vetustas interit, regnatque novitas;
Quam regis ingerit nova nativitas. 200

De Magorum adventu donisque mysticis
Magnis non magicis pollentes artibus;
Adsunt cum mysticis Magi muneribus,
Ut jam Judaicis praescribat ritibus;
Fides catholicis fundata legibus.

Ad novi sideris lumen insolitum; 205
Magi prae ceteris flectunt intuitum,
Cernentes posteris jam palam praebitum;
Quod patrum litteris legebant in situm.

Praemonstrant aethera iter in radio,
Pergunt itinera splendore praevio, 210
Disponit opera comes devotio,
Tria tres munera dant Dei Filio.

Sunt dona triplici distincta specie;
Regis pacifici delata gloriae,
Ut detur conici sub hac effigie; 215

Ipsius subici cuncta potentiae.

Cum sit tripharia donorum claritas;
In auro; regia relucet dignitas,
In thure; socia carnis divinitas,
In myrra; conscia mortis humanitas.

220

De regres[su Ma]gorum et . . . donorum

Haeret mysterio permota munerum;
Gestans in gremio Maria puerum,
Donorum pretio praeponit numerum;
Quem certa ratio docet signiferum.

Regem praetereunt viaque regia;
Ad sua redeunt reges cum gloria,
In sua pereunt Scribae peritia;
Quos scripta praeaeunt; nec regit gratia.

225

Sol ad Aegyptios vergens oculitur;
Subducit radios dum male quaeritur,
Ne fallat alios Herodes fallitur,
In coetaneos ensis exeritur.

230

Sic in consortium Christo congenitus,
Felix infantium vicit exercitus,
Quibus ad gaudium ingressum exitus;
Iter ad praemium parat interitus.

235

Aetatum spatio crescens humanitus;
Pro ut susceptio poscebat habitus;
Paret imperio parentem subditus;

216 potentiae] MS potencie 227 peritia] MS pericia
234 infantium] MS infancium 237 spatio] MS spacio

Cuius arbitrio mundus est conditus.

240

De praesentatione Domini in templo

Non sacrificio non egens victima;

Quorum remedio purgetur anima;

Sed ne purgatio desit legitima;

Adstat cum Filio Mater mundissima.

Non ergo solvitur lex sive littera,

245

Quicquid praecipitur transit in opera,

Templum ingreditur pura puerpera,

Puer inducitur qui purgat scelera.

Intrat cum hostiis non habens vitia;

Immo pro vitiis futurus hostia

250

Ut hiis et aliis ad nostra gaudia;

Usa remediis; laudetur gratia.

Ulnis excipitur senis sanctissimi,

Qui vera dicitur virtus altissimi,

Nec Verbum creditur a carne dirimi;

255

Et si se patitur ad praesens conprimi.

Felices igitur illius oculi;

Quibus lux oritur ex umbra parvuli,

Qui dum-suscipitur in forma servuli;

Salvator creditur totius saeculi.

260

De effectu naturae geminae in Christo

Hunc ab initio pie dispositum;

Nostra redemptio poscebat exitum,

Ut in principio de Patre genitum;
Credas in gremio Mariae positum.

Ad horam latuit lampas sub modio, 265
Carnis quam induit operta pallio,
Sed quem oculuit carnis conditio;
Notum exhibuit signorum ratio.

Ex impassibili sumpsit infirmitas,
Ut nec passibili jam desit Deitas, 270
Splendet in humili Verbi sublimitas,
Vernat in fragili virtutum claritas.

Infirmis fortia potens interserit;
Quem nec potentia passurum deserit,
Cum summae gratia virtutis fuerit; 275
Quod gratis omnia sponteque tulerit.

Effectum igitur naturae geminae;
Fides complectitur in Christi nomine,
Homo suscipitur totus a numine;
Et totus creditur Deus in homine. 280

Cur Dominus venerit ad nuptias in Cana Galileae
Praesignans proprias sub harum specie;
Venit ad nuptias sponsus Ecclesiae;
Suae primitias praemonstrant gloriae,
Vini delicias ministrant hydriae.

Quam felix copula, quae Christo sociam; 285
Carentem macula jungit Ecclesiam,

273 fortia] MS forcia 280 creditur] MS corrected to
capitur in another hand in homine] MS corrected to et ab
homine in another hand 283 primitias] MS primicias

Dulcescunt pocula legis per gratiam,
Praeludunt singula sponsi potentiam.

Ancillam eicit Sara jam libera,
 Nova lex incipit, nova sunt foedera, 290
Judaea desipit errans in littera;
 Nec nova percipit; nec credit vetera.

Ut unum sapiant legales hydriae;
 Ab ipso mutuant saporem gratiae;
 Cui nos sociant per fidem nuptiae, 295
 Per quem nos satiant caeli deliciae.

Lex non eliditur regnante gratia;
 Immo perficitur per Evangelia,
 Per Verbum igitur per quod sunt omnia;
 In vinum vertitur aquae substantia. 300

De baptismo Christi facto in Jordane

Occurrit potior aquae potentia,
 Quam Christi gratior infudit gratia,
 Manat exterior simplex substantia;
 Virtus interior; emundat omnia.

Haec ergo superis ima confoederat, 305
Haec rupti foederis fidem recuperat,
Haec Adae veteris peccatum superat,
Haec lapsi generis prolem regenerat.

Aquis exstinguitur ignita rhomphaea,
 Expulsis panditur porta siderea, 310

288 potentiam] MS potenciam 296 satiant] MS saciant
 300 substantia] MS substancia 309 rhomphaea] MS rumphea

Dumque secernitur granum a palea;

Aurum eruitur de massa lutea.

Jordanis fluvium salvator visitat,

Betens mysterium antiqua suscitāt,

Transit per medium nec mergi dubitat;

315

Qui Patri Filium parem non haesitat.

Adest in specie columbae Spiritus,

Auditur gloriae paternae sonitus,

Quod eius proprie sit unigenitus;

Sub hac effigie servili positus.

320

De quadragenario jejunio Christi

Ut necessaria detur instructio,

Nos instructoria praecedat actio,

Suo jejunia nostra jejunio;

Informat praevia Christi dignatio.

Juvat in licitis laeta suspensio,

325

Nocet in vetitis facta transgressio,

Ut ergo meritis cedat praesumptio;

Membra se capitis coaptent studio.

Sit abstinentiae vista materies;

Ipsa justitiae jugis esuries,

330

Sit temperantiae discreta species;

Ab omni specie mala; temperies.

Sicut nec noxia quaeque remediis;

Sic nec salubria carent insidiis,

328 membra] MS menbra 329 abstinentiae] MS abstinencie
330 justitiae] MS justicie 331 temperantiae] MS temper-
ancie

Nec est hic gloria danda victoriis; 335
 Cum sit obnoxia pax ipsa proeliis.

Hinc Dei Filius quadragenario;
 Completo plenius carnis jejunio;
 Temptatur acrius ab adversario,
 Sed vicit fortius potens in proelio. 340

Cur Dominus in carne positus miracula fecerit

De Christi penitus potestas lateat;
 In signum positus nos signis recreat,
 Ut et humanitus promissa compleat;
 Et mundo caelitus per signa luceat.
 Elegit humiles Christi clementia; 345

Ut per ignobiles elidat fortia,
 Vita dissimiles sive scientia;
 Sibi consimiles fecit in gratia.
 Coram discipulis et per discipulos;
 Crebris miraculis informat populos, 350
 Ad hoc incredulis permiscens credulos;
 Ut sit in singulis; quod vivet singulos.

Scribas examinat, cum doctis disserit,
 Sensus illuminat, scripturas aperit,
 Ritus eliminat quos error exerit, 355
 Docenda seminat, discenda suggerit.

Tangenti caecitas cedit ingenita,
 Leprae deformitas fugit abolita,

Linguae facilitas mutis exhibita,
Surdus est sospitas auditus reddita.

360

De diversis miraculis factis a Christo

Obsessos deserunt inmundi spiritus,
Blasphemos efferunt verborum strepitus,
Se portis ingerunt permissi caelitus,
Qui sint quos perferunt, grex probat perditus.

Dementes exeunt praedones perfidi,
Quem ferre nequeunt, fatentur invidi,
Febres intereunt, respirant aridi;
Curantem praeceunt cum laude languidi.

365

De septem panibus augente gratia,
Paucisque piscibus pascuntur milia,
Nulla fidelibus nocet inedia;
Si dives moribus sit conscientia.

370

Ad tactum finbriæ stant fluxus menstrui,
Testes potentiae tres surgunt mortui,
Hæ sinit primitiae lactis melliflui;
Quo legem gratiae decebat imbui.

375

Sub brevi numero claudens innumera;
Vix pauca profero virtutum opera,
Quibus ab utero per blanda foedera;
Lusit in puero paterno dextera.

380

Cur Dominus pati voluerit

Assumens hominem divina ratio;
Venit in Virginem de Patris gremio,

375 primitiae] MS primicie

Quaerens imaginem suam in alio;

Similitudinem in A~~da~~e filio.

Nos Deo similes prima conditio; 385
Fecit dissimiles A~~da~~e transgressio,
Respexit humiles Pater in Filio;
Quos suo nobiles reddat consortio.

Per participium nostrae substantiae;
Suae consortium dedit essentiae, 390
Pro nobis Filium sub servi specie;
Inpendens pretium salubris hostiae.

Quae nullo clauditur fine Divinitas,
Sortis ingreditur humanae semitas,
Mors morte solvitur, solvitque debitas; 395
Dum poenas patitur Christus inmeritas.

Quod Dominus omnes in se nostras suscepit corporeas
infirmittates

Carnis velamine vim celans numinis;
Explet in homine quicquid est hominis,
Excepto crimine quod non originis;
Sed in origine fuit discriminis. 400

O nostri generis nova nobilitas;
O mira miseris facta felicitas,
Venit a superis ad nos Divinitas;
Ut novi foederis formetur firmitas.

Restaurat veteris, dampni dispendia; 405
Beati foederis nova fiducia,

383 imaginem] MS ymaginem 388 consortio] MS consorcio
390 consortium] MS consorcium essentiae] MS essencie

Humani generis laesa primordia;

Salvat a superis illapsa gratia.

In se caelestibus terrena foederat;

Cum se mortalibus vita contemperat,

410

Dat vitam omnibus qui mori venerat;

A cruciatibus per crucem liberat.

De proditione Domini facta per discipulum

Dum studet loculo fraudans pecuniam;

Fraus in discipulo fovit perfidiam,

Ut fallat clanculo procedit obviam;

415

Hostilem osculo celans infamam.

Init commercium cruentus institor,

Et quasi nescium venundat proditor,

Qui testis cordium, qui renum cognitor;

Qui rex est omnium et rerum conditor.

420

Salubris igitur grataque saeculo;

Summo res agitur digna spectaculo,

Bellum indicitur in pacis osculo,

Pax ipsa proditur pacis signaculo.

Ex avaritiae procedens vitio;

425

Sub pacis specie fallat proditio,

Quam amicitiae mentito studio;

Caeca pecuniae parit ambitio.

Quod Judas cupiditate ductus Dominum prodiderit

O foeda mentium flendaque caecitas;

Malorum omnium mater cupiditas,

430

Sic in flagitium foede praecipitas;

425 avaritiae] MS avaricie 427 amicitiae] MS amicicie
431 flagitium] MS flagicium

Cor tibi pervium, cor quod inhabitas.

De te principium sumpsit iniquitas,
Sumit exordium vitae perplexitas;
Per temporalium curas implicitas;
Rectas in devium obliquans semitas.

435

Pax omnis interit, frigescit caritas,
Lux mentis deperit, caligat sanctitas,
Nec sedem reperit in ore veritas;
Si cor possederit caeca cupiditas.

440

Per manus impii pium aggrederis,
In quo nil vitii nil culpae reperis,
Qui non contagii sed consors generis;
Jure consortii subvenit miseris.

Ex huius vitii radice profluit;
Summa flagitii quae Judam polluit,
Sed quod mens impii male disposuit;
In spem remedii piis emicuit.

445

De patientia Christi qui nec proditoris sui personam
prodere voluerit

Silet vox prescii nec fert in populum;
Personam conscii sive vocabulum,
Nec pius impii refugit osculum;
Ut vel sic odii retundat spiculum.

450

Quid, Juda pessime, scelus exaggeras?
Quid mortem animae miser acceleras?
Ubi sunt lacrimae quas reus proferas?

455

Quas vice victimae peccator offeras?

Quid, Juda, falleris, quid miser haesitas?

Quid non reverteris ad vitae semitas?

Si multa sceleris terret immensitas;

Maior est muneris divini largitas.

460

Sed diabolicis incumbens artibus;

Culpae multiplicis vinciris nexibus,

Ut nec dominicis credas sermonibus;

Nec te tyrannicis subducas ausibus.

Notus flagitiis, insignis scelere;

465

Doctus insidiis doctorem prodere;

Nec pravis studiis metas indicere;

Nec dampnis propriis nosci prospicere.

Invectio in Judam quod personam agere voluerit

Cum fit justitiae comes benignitas;

Nulla vim veniae vincit immanitas,

470

Summae clementiae manus explicitas;

Nulla nequitiae coartat pravitas.

Quid sic averteris a pacis foedere?

Ad rupti foederis pacta convertere,

Spes curae celeris datur de vulnere;

475

Si digne fleveris commissa temere.

Sed te tyrannicae mentis vesania;

Salutis publicae privavit gratia,

Tua te iudice dampnat sententia;

469 justitiae] MS justicie 472 nequitiae] MS nequicie
479 sententia] MS sententia

Tua te vindice perdit insania.

480

In te iudicium dictas inmanius,
Nemo te noxium dampnaret justius,
Nemo flagitium puniret durius,
Nemo supplicium inferret acrius.

Quicquid dementiae Judae praetenditur;
Ex diffidentiae reatu tollitur,
Nec fructum veniae culpa consequitur;
Cum paenitentiae peccatum additur.

485

Quod desperatio causa fuerit perditionis Judae
Tu causae propriae testis et arbiter,
Reus perfidiae actorque pariter;
Te multifariae dampnas et acriter;
Avia variae declinans nequiter.

490

Cor conscientiae pungit aculeus;
Ut te nequitiae subdas ultroneus,
Spem ergo veniae praevenit laqueus;
Tantae perfidiae vindex ultroneus.

495

De tuo venia vincatur crimine;
A morte propria vel manum contine,
Sed diffidentia flendo discrimine;
Omni te gratia privat et lumine.

500

Irreverentia facta mysterio;

485 dementiae] MS demencie 486 diffidentiae] MS diffid-
encie 488 paenitentiae] MS penitencie 491 multifariae] MS
multipharie 493 conscientiae] MS consciencie 499 diffid-
entia] MS diffidencia 501 irreverentia] MS irreverencia

Tu^{ae} per omnia mortis est ratio,
 Fit tibi noxia sacra communio;
 Te privat gratia, privat officio.

Ut celer terminus concludat scelera; 505
 In sese protinus armatur dextera,
 Dum vit^{ae} Dominus exercet opera;
 Rimatur facinus, mortisque foedera.

Quod d . . . perditionis se ultro Judas suspenderit
 Indignus igitur terram contingere;
 In auras spargitur pendens in aere, 510
 Vox intercipitur obstrusa misere;
 Qu^{ae} Dei nititur Verbum obstruere.

Sic lucrum sitiens incurrit laqueum;
 Finem excipiens fraudis idoneum,
 Qui vitam fugiens in se spontaneum; 515
 Retorsit moriens mortis aculeum.

Horrendo transitu migrat e medio;
 Qui nec in obitu vacat a vitio,
 Probans interitu quod tali praemio;
 Tali sit exitu digna proditio. 520

Incurrit geminae mortis dispendia;
 A vero lumine mens Judae devia,
 In Christi sanguine salvantur omnia;
 Soluta pristinae mortis potentia.

Quod ad remedium nostrae miseriae; 525

Crucis suspendium tulit rex gloriae;
 Sub hac praesentium discreta specie;
 Magnae mysterium praemonstrat gratiae.

Cur Dominus inter duos latrones medius sit positus

Certa iudicii futuri ratio;
 Ex hoc suspendii patet indicio, 530
 Quod quasi socii sunt in supplicio;
 Hinc inde noxii; Christus in medio.

Digne quis explicet aptans mysterio:
 Quid nam significet ista dimensio,
 Quid situs indicet Christus in medio? 535
 Quid tales applicet suo consortio?

Quod rea suggerit plebs in opprobrium;
 Dum sic interserit reis innexium;
 Cum nil hic fuerit a fide vacuum;
 Fidum id asserit fides mysterium. 540

Cum salus prodeat de Christi latere;
 Christumque deceat loca distinguere;
 Ut palam pateat, pium est cernere;
 Quis laevam teneat quis locum dextere.

Dextram virtutibus perfecti vendicant; 545
 Vel qui se fletibus digne diudicant,
 Ipsi se moribus sinistros indicant;
 Qui pravis actibus morti communicant.

Quod haec Christi suspensio futuri iudicii quaedam
sit demonstratio

Qui propter impios salvandos venerat;

Nunc inter noxios locum elegerat, 550

Nec male conscios justus exasperat;

Quos suae socios crucis praeviderat.

Cum in iudicio resurgent pariter;

Pium ab impio secernet arbiter,

Effectu vario si non localiter; 555

Sedens in medio potentialiter.

Tenebit medium quasi conpaginans,

Et certas sedium metas determinans;

Pie fidelium causas examinans;

Et per supplicium reos exterminans. 560

Per fines medios incedet media;

Affectus varios pensans sententia,

Paterna filios fovens clementia;

Perenni noxios dampnans miseria.

Sedebit medius se cunctis indicans, 565

Cunctis innoxius, et cuncta judicans,

Parcens obnixius quam noxam vindicans;

Seque propitius piis communicans.

Quid latro signet ad dexteram Christi crucifixus

Suspensus igitur a dextro latere;

Latro consequitur effectum dextere, 570

Qui dum compungitur, purgatus propere;

Prorsus absolvitur a suo scelere.

O miro munere magnoque gaudio;
Divine dextere facta mutatio,
Insignis scelere, foedus flagitio;
Caelesti foedere gaudet et praemio.

575

O paenitentiae grata commercia,
O verae veniae cita remedia,
Reus perfidiae fida constantia;
Divinae gratiae praefert insignia.

580

Deflens quae fecerit fautor nequitiae;
Secreta referat regis justitiae,
Qui praedo fuerat fit praeco gratiae,
Qui fur offenderat forma fit veniae.

Suis sol radiis cor caecum referat;
Quod taetra vitiis nox occupaverat,
Nec dum e labilis sermo processerat;
Et jam flagitiis Christus ignoverat.

585

Commendatio gratiae divinae quae tam crescens
claruit in latrone

Non fungit figulum vasis injuria;
Siquando vasculum frangat in curia,
Nescit latibulum Dei praesentia;
Cuius ad oculum nuda sunt omnia.

590

Sic sic in miseris parcens miseriae;
Ludit hic celeris largitor gratiae,

577 paenitentiae] MS penitencie 579 constantia] MS
constancia 591 praesentia] MS presencia

Vas illud sceleris vas contumeliae; 595

Vas sancti foederis, vas fecit gloriae.

Se paenitentiae praebens spectaculum;

Fit latro veniae lampas et speculum,

Ut longa serie senescens saeculum;

In novae gratiae resurgat populum. 600

O mira domum misericordia;

Quae desunt homini supplens ex gratia,

Facta discrimini mortis obnoxia;

Praescribens crimini laxat clementia.

Per paenitentiam reatus proprii; 605

Redit in gratiam reus flagitii,

Sicque sententiam justi supplicii;

Fides in gloriam transfert martyrii.

Quod voluntaria fuerit passio Domini

O regis omnium mira dignatio,

Felix commercium, pia taxatio, 610

Inpendit pretium non parcens Filio;

Ut servi vitium hoc solvat pretio.

Fortis congreditur et fortem superat;

In ligno vincitur qui ligno vicerat;

Pauper ingreditur qui mundum liberat, 615

Foras eicitur qui princeps fuerat.

Teneri voluit qui cuncta continet;

Probra sustinuit qui caelos sustinet;

Ad horam latuit ut nos illuminet;

607 sententiam] MS sentenciam

Qui mori voluit ut mortem terminet.

620

Quid nostris invides Judaea gaudiis,
Nec tuis provides salutem filiis?
Scinduntur lapides, nec his indiciis;
A suis praesides desistant studiis.

Quid Abel innocens quid Caym fratrem occidens
significet

Abel oblatio quae pie geritur;
Dei iudicio digna suscipitur,
Pro fratricidio Caym arguitur;
Cuius elatio cum donis spernitur.

625

A Dei facie vagus eicitur,
Quem conscientiae vermis insequitur,
In signum hodie Judaea ponitur;
Iudex perfidiae quae necdum solvitur.

630

Non parcit filio pater obediens,
Paret imperio praeceptum audiens,
Gaudet, se gladio sponte subiciens;
Patris arbitrio puer assentiens.

635

In sacrificium vervex assumitur,
Dum pastor ovium pro grege moritur,
Qui per supplicium crucis quam patitur;
In spinis veprium haesisse dicitur.

640

Joseph prae ceteris crescens ad gloriam,
Fraterni foederis offendit gratiam,
Messias miseris missus ad veniam;

Offenso generis sensit invidiam.

De venditione Joseph in Aegypto et de pugna Absalon
mystica

Urit invidiae virus et uritur, 645
Vindex nequitiae quae vix evincitur,
Cuius saevitiae totum ascribitur;
Quo plebis impiae furor accenditur.

In arto positus Joseph extrahitur,
In servum venditus regno praeficitur, 650
In cruce positus rex Jhesus scribitur,
Quo rege servitus humana solvitur.

Absalon mystica jam pugna geritur;
Pax patris unica patrem persequitur,
Dum plebs Judaica regem insequitur; 655
Regem qui caelica regens occiditur.

Illius inclitae quae multa legitur;
Vitis jam perditae dulcedo plangitur,
De cuius palmite botrus excerpitur;
Qui crucis stipite non vecte vehitur. 660

Quod extra vineam heres occiditur;
Quod in ficulneam Jhesus ulciscitur;
Quod ad extraneam Sanson ingreditur;
Ut plura transeam; jam nunc perficitur.

Quid vinea deserta quid ficulnea cui maledicatur
significet

Electa vinea peccans deseritur, 665

646 nequitiae] MS nequicie 647 saevitiae] MS sevicie
ascribitur] MS ascribitur with dot of expunction

Aret ficulnea quae maledicatur,
Transit in horrea granum quod teritur,
In flammis palea cremanda mittitur.

Saluti gentium invita consulit;
Dum vitam omnium Judaea repulit;
In se iudicium dampnanda protulit;
Quae regem proprium ad poenam optulit.

670

Ministra sceleris manus Judaica;
Perversi generis proles erratica;
Divini foederis excedens mystica;
Attrectat asperis membra dominica.

675

Flagris exponitur corpus dominicum,
Flagellis teritur caeleste triticum,
In cruce molitur, fitque viaticum;
Corpus quod sumitur verum et mysticum.

680

De compassione Matris in morte Filii

Eclipsim nesciens novo miraculo;
Sol indeficiens migrat e saeculo,
Mater commoriens haeret patibulo;
Passo compatiens affectu sedulo.

Pio respiciens plorantem oculo;
Commendat moriens Matrem discipulo,
De cuius veniens processit vasculo;
Intrans et exiens salvo signaculo.

685

676 membra] MS menbra 680/681 compassione] MS compas-
sione 681 Eclipsim] MS Eclipsim 684 compatiens] MS con-
patiens

O miram Domini nostri dulcedinem,
 Qui suum numini conservans ordinem; 690
 Se verum homini proponit hominem;
 Dum Matrem virgini commendat Virginem.

Matrem dulcissimam consolans dulcius;
 Ad Matris lacrimam respexit Filius,
 Cuius sanctissimam ferro ferocius; 695
 Pertransit animam doloris gladius.

Planctus quem generat pia compassio;
 Cor Matris vulnerat affectu vario,
 Fides deliberat, plorat affectio;
 Dum crucem tolerat Mater in Filio. 700

Dolores anxia deplorat Filii,
 Sed verax nuntia venturi gaudii;
 Divini conscia Virgo consilii;
 Cordis suspiria suspendit anxii.

Quicquid affectio privata generat; 705
 Quicquid compassio flendum exaggerat;
 Humanae vitio salutis temperat;
 Quam a principio partus praescierat.

Quid sitis Domini et quid acetum porrectum significet
 Latro compatiens regi justitiae;
 Reliquit moriens exemplum veniae, 710
 Ad indeficiens pervenit hodie;
 Petrum praeveniens in regni requie.

Fons indeficiens quas semper habuit;
 Ad horam sitiens jures continuit,

Hoc ergo patiens Christus optinuit; 715
 Quod nostram moriens mortem absorbuit.

O gens lapidea, domus exasperans,
 Proles viperea, vitis degenerans,
 Labruscas vinea non vinum generans,
 Sed faece fellea vinum adulterans. 720

Acetum vinea cum felle miscuit;
 Ad hoc idonea quod nocens profuit,
 De gente fellea fons potum respuit;
 Cuius ultronea sitis nos instruit.

O fera perfidæ gentis invidia; 725
 Clavorum cuspidē forat vestigia,
 Sed hæc qui provide disponit omnia;
 In vero lapide confudit studia.

Quid vestis purpurea quid corona spinea significet

Crudelis osculi passus insidias;
 Fraudem discipuli, gentis insanias; 730
 Fit laxas anguli jungens macerias;
 Divisi populi per cerimonias.

Sic domus geminae divisa facies;
 In Christi nomine fit unus paries,
 Sic legis pristinae ritus et species; 735
 Unus in sanguine consummat aries.

Quod ad ludibrium gens egit impia;
 Transfert in gaudium cælestis gratia,
 Jus signant regium crucis insignia;
 Ipsa mysterium monstrant supplicia. 740

Vestis purpurea signat imperium,

Corona spinea regni mysterium,
 Sitis spontanea salutem gentium,
 Potio fellea cor infidelium.

Quod Dominus simpla sua morte duplam victoriam
 superaverit

Aequo rex omnium certat iudicio, 745
 Ut dediticium absolvat ratio,
 Usus ad pretium mortis commercio;
 Quae sit mortalium plena redemptio.

Ut praestet patiens poenae remedium;
 Subit obediens mortis supplicium, 750
 Captivat moriens mortis imperium;
 In se perficiens salutem omnium.

Humana fallitur hostis effigie,
 In ea vincitur qua vicit specie,
 Dum nostrae frangitur testa substantiae; 755
 Lampas exeritur latentis gloriae.

Pro novis moritur qui nos regenerat,
 Vincit qui patitur Christus et imperat,
 Per Christum vivitur qui mortem tolerat,
 Simpla suscipitur et duplam superat. 760

Mors simpla creditur carnis sanctissimae;
 Quae vera sumitur in usum victimae,
 Verbum non moritur cohaerens animae;
 A qua resumitur corpus exanime.

De conexione Verbi carni consubstantiata in Christo

Quam felix unio in uno homine; 765

Verbi conexio carnis et animae,
In qua confusio nulla substantiae;
Sed est distinctio naturae geminae.

Numquam deseruit hunc Deus hominem;
Quem semel induit ingressus Virginem, 770
Sed quandam praestruit nubis imaginem;
Caro quae profuit per fustum sanguinem.

Sol nube tegitur; sic carne Deitas,
Sed nec sol laeditur si solis claritas;
Eclipsim patitur, sic carnis veritas; 775
In Christo moritur, nec dolet Deitas.

In morte Domini terra contremuit,
Suo sol lumini nubem opposuit,
Nec suum homini lumen exhibuit;
Qui vero lumini fidem non habuit. 780

Per umbras publicae lucis insolitas;
Mortis dominicae clarescit veritas,
Quanta Judaicae sit gentis caecitas;
Noctis eclipticae monstrat obscuritas.

Quod sanguis et aqua de Christi latere egressa significant

Cum latus Domini lancea dirimit; 785
Liquoris gemini virtutem exprimit,
Hic aqua sanguini mixta nos redimit,

Hic calix Domini culpas interimit.

Lancea militis latus aperuit,
De cuius abditis jam palam profluit; 790
Quod vel a debitis purgandos abluit;
Vel dignos meritis ad vitam instruit.

Quod de Christi latere omnia Ecclesiae sacramenta emanaverint

De Christi latere prodit Ecclesia;
Quae casto foedere fit tori socia,
De carnis ubere donante gratia; 795
Prolis innumerae dependent milia.

Hic arca foederis, hic tabernaculum;
Hic dux itineris praecedens populum,
Hic illud operis mirandi ferculum;
Aeterni muneris ministrans epulum. 800

Hic David regia turris erigitur;
Ad cuius moenia per crucem scanditur,
Hic scala praevia per quam ascenditur;
Non jam per sompna sed vere cernitur.

Hic propugnacula, hic mille clypei, 805
Hic arma singula victricis fidei,
Hic celsa specula serpentis aenei;
Retundens spicula mortis viperei.

Quid serpens aeneus erectus a Moyse significet

In crucis igitur pendens patibulo;
Serpens erigitur prudens a saeculo, 810

Puro si quaeritur cernendus oculo;
Laeso cum cernitur succurrens populo.

O vera fidei nostrae fiducia;
Serpentis aenei visa praesentia,
Ad pali lignei palam mysteria; 815
Serpentis ignei cedunt incendia.

Humano generi pie consulitur;
Dum serpens veteri novus opponitur,
Anguis pestiferi virus exstinguitur;
Medetur vulneri qui vermis dicitur. 820

Vermis qui vespere ne plura referam;
Legalis litterae siccavit ederam,
Ne Jonas temere sequendo litteram;
Sub umbra litterae perdat et operam.

Cur Dominus de cruce noluerit descendere

Qui cuncta potuit nil eget temere, 825
Sed quicquid libuit agendo libere;
De cruce noluit vivus descendere,
Qui mortem voluit per crucem tollere.

Soluto carcere mortisque vinculo;
Surgit de funere surgit e tumulo, 830
Malens resurgere, quam de patibulo;
Descendens cedere caecato populo.

Contempta siluit vox illusoria,
Falli non potuit summa clementia,
Victa succubuit hostis astutia, 835

835 astutia] MS astucia

Late resplenduit regis victoria.

Veli divisio revelat omnia,
Carnis cilicio tecta mysteria,
Pater in Filio consummat omnia,
Ut Christi passio sit nostra gloria.

840

De virtute et signacula sanctae crucis

Surge de pulvere surge mens misera,
Crucem conplectere et crucis opera,
Triumphat libere potentis dextera,
Exit de carcere praeda jam libera.

Ejecto principe languentis saeculi;
Virtutem concipe sancti signaculi;
Et quo particeps triumphant populi;
Salubris excipe signa patibuli.

845

Sancti signaculi praefert insignia;
Signati populi Mater Ecclesia,
Dum pompis saeculi per crucem omnia;
Triumphans tabuli signa potentia.

850

Huius victoriae praesignat tempora,
Victrix ab acie revertens Debbora,
Sompno desidia dux cadit Sisara;
Clavo constantiae transfixus tempora.

855

Natat in fluvio jam pridem perdita;
Suo manubrio securis reddita,
Lapsa conditio culpisque subdita;
Surgit a vitio per crucis merita.

860

856 constantiae] MS constancie 859 conditio] MS
condicio

Quod veste mystica Joseph exuitur;
 In hac Judaica gente perficitur,
 Intincta tunica patri pertigitur;
 Cum mors dominica pie recolitur.

Quid significet quod Jhesus properis humeris
 crucem gestaverit

Gestans in humeris Jhesus patibulum; 865
 Electi generis informat populum;
 Ut huius oneris sequentes bajulum;
 Ad tanti foederis currant spectaculum.

Crux Christi tollitur, sed sorte varia,
 Nunc ultro geritur, nunc in angaria, 870
 Qui gratis patitur reportat praemia,
 Quaestus si quaeritur, expirat gratia.

Quicquid oblatio legalis vituli;
 Quicquid aspersio praesignat populi;
 Quod immolatio spondet agniculi; 875
 Complet inscriptio regalis tituli.

Felix conditio sive commercium;
 Permittans gaudio crucis supplicium;
 Ipsa proportio distincta partium;
 Plena mysterio transit in pretium. 880

Crucis a saeculo forma triangula;
 Adjecto titulo surgit quadrangula,
 Quadro signaculo completens singula;
 Cum suo populo mundi confinia.

Extrema partium transfigit infera, 885
 Caeli palatium pars pulsat supera,
 Laeva praesentium largitur munera,
 Perenne gaudium partitur dextera.

[]

Per crucis igitur distincta brachia;
 Cuncta complectitur Christi clementia, 890
 Nullus excipitur a crucis gloria;
 Si gratis tollitur non in angaria.

Gentis tyrannicae fregit imperia;
 Irrisa mystice crux in Calvaria,
 Dampnatur vindice calvi sententia; 895
 Plebis Judaicae vox irrisoria.

Fluens a capite Christi caesaries;
 Gentis est perditae fluxa progenies,
 Fit vitis inclitae decor et species;
 Fracto in palmite; flammae materies. 900

Palmes exciditur arescens vineae,
 Genus dispergitur gentis erroneae,
 Sub grano parcitur dispersae paleae;
 Dum adhuc quaeritur fructus ficulneae.

Fructus idonei sera fertilitas; 905
 Fiet, cum fidei cedet haec caecitas,
 Cum jugi ferrei pressuras inditas;

886] Above pulsat, "et pandit" palatium] MS palacium
 888/889] Rubric lacking 889] Above distincta, "et extensa"
 890] Marginally after clementia, "et potencia" 901, 905]
 Rubric capitals lacking

Delebit olei caelestis lenitas.

Nec dum vis flectitur ultricis frameae,
Non flamma vincitur fornacis faeneae, 910
Germen eligitur stirpis idoneae,
Ramus inseritur languentis oleae.

Situs erronei relinquet semitas;
Mollita saxei cordis asperitas;
Cum vera fidei fiet idemptitas; 915
Partus virginei suscepta veritas.

Quid tau littera in postibus et superliminaribus
scripta significet

Lex nova conditur et cedunt vetera,
Agnus occiditur in mundi vespera,
De cuius pingitur cruore littera;
Quae verae creditur crucis signifera. 920

Quod tau typicum visum pro foribus
Praestat dominicum lignum in cordibus,
Quod signum mysticum fecit in postibus;
Implet vivificum signum in frontibus.

Ad signum litterae sanguis eliminat; 925
Illum qui misere mundum exterminat,
Solvit a funere crux et illuminat;
Quos Dei foedere dignos examinat.

Crux agni mystici sacrata sanguine,
Mundum multiplici salvat juvamine, 930
Nequit mens infici mortis formidine;

909, 913] Rubric capitals lacking 921 typicum] MS
tipicum

Vultus dominici signata lumine.

Haec nostri praevia columna temporis,
Praestat ad omnia tutelam roboris,
Expellit noxia, dat pacem pectoris, 935
Fida custodia mentis et corporis.

Sed quis haec proferat crucis praeconia;
Quis digne disserat de ligni gloria;
Crux caeli referat clausa palatia,
Infernum vulnerat, salvat terrestria. 940

Quod arca in diluvio crucis . . . -ditura
In ligno reperit homo remedium;
Dum mundus interit passus diluvium,
Fluit et praeterit genus mortalium;
Nec bonos deserit arcae praesidium.

Haec in diluvio, crux in baptisate; 945
Vere sed vario salvat aenigmate,
Haec Christi regio signatos chrismate;
Purgat a vitio, replet charismate.

Christi baptisate renata natio;
Virtutum schemate relucet vario, 950
In diademate consecra regio;
Quod nullo schismate frangit divisio.

Nos diademati suo conseruit,
Qui nostras capiti spinas imposuit,
Mors unigeniti jugum deposuit; 955

933 columna] MS columpna 937 Sed] MS Set 940/941]
Rubric badly worn

Quod fructus vetiti culpa promeruit.

Poenae deponitur spinetum debitae,
Dum spina suitur in Christi capite,
Sceptrum erigitur in crucis stipite,
Potestas redditur virtutis perditae.

960

Quid virga Moysi quid maris divisio significet

Quod arca profuit, quod Noe posteris;
Arcus emicuit in signum foederis,
Quod Jesse floruit virga prae ceteris;
In huius confluit effectum muneris.

In virga mittitur Moyses mystica,
In qua percutitur Aegyptus typica,
Mare dividitur, cedit ars magica,
Et plebs eripitur Israelitica.

965

Per hanc mirabere si fidem applies;
Salsos dulcescere deserti latices,
Mare secedere, et quasi supplices;
In se subsistere marinos vortices.

970

Crucis dominicae virens exeritur,
Dum petra mystice bis virga tangitur,
De firma silice latex elicitur,
De Christi calice per orbem bibitur.

975

De ove centesima perdita et restituta

Jacturae veteris dampna restituit;
Qui novi foederis auctor emicuit,

966 typica] MS tipica 968 Israelitica] MS israhelitica

Amissam humeris ovem inposuit;
 Qui nostri generis naturam induit.

980

Dum curvat humerum pastor ad infima;
 Redit ad numerum ovis centesima,
 Ad cetum superum peccatrix anima,
 Excussa scelerum mole gravissima.

Dum granum mystici frumenti moritur;
 Fructu multiplici seges exoritur,
 Panis vivifici membrum efficitur;
 Qui fide simplici Christo conectitur.

985

Parat convivium mulier optima,
 Fit magnum gaudium pro dragma decima,
 Fit pastor ovium paschalis victima;
 In se legalium complens legitima.

990

Quid sit comedere lactucis et azimis

Pascha comeditur verum in azimis,
 Cum Christus sumitur sinceris animis,
 Lactucis utitur qui lavat lacrimis;
 Id quod respergitur fermento criminis.

995

Trina mors animae per simplam solvitur;
 Dum vice victimae victor occiditur,
 In Christi sanguine totum abluitor;
 Quicquid in crimine mortale creditur.

1000

Saluti gentium solus consuluit,
 Qui solus omnium causam sustinuit,
 Post diem tertium vivus apparuit;
 Vitae remedium qui morte meruit.

Propheta mortuo vivus incubuit, 1005
 Surgit continuo puer qui jacuit,
 Sepultus triduo Christus optinuit;
 Ut surgant denuo quos mors absorbit.

Emissi spiritus magna potentia;
 Inferni funditus divisit spolia, 1010
 In cruce positus per crucis brachia;
 Ad se divinitus jam traxit omnia.

Quod undecima jam immineat hora quae et undecima
 Trahens ad vesperum hora nos ultima,
 Ad salutiferum invitat azima,
 Hora vix operum restat undecima, 1015
 Spes aequat munerum primis novissima.

Fit venientium mane vel vespera;
 Par Christus praemium dans vitae munera,
 Occulta cordium pensans et opera;
 Solvit denarium sedens in dextera. 1020

Tenet imperium Patri consimilis,
 Venturus omnium iudex terribilis;
 Qui per consortium naturae fragilis;
 Crucis obprobrium suscepit humilis.

Huc jam nunc suspice mens male saucia, 1025
 Crucis dominicae pensans humilia,
 Ad tui respice regis insignia;
 Salutis unicae quaerens remedia.

1017 venientium] MS veniencium

Exhortatio ut sit homo propriae memor conditionis

Ad mentem redeunt quae gessi perperam,
 Peccata prodeunt quae prius texeram, 1030
 Terrent qui pereunt perdentes dexteram,
 Dum male transeunt in partem alteram.

Ad laevam iudicis trementes impii,
 Flebunt ad vindicis flammam incendii,
 Dextram opificis tenebunt filii, 1035
 Qui sancti calicis hic erant conscii.

Post moles criminum, post foeda scelera;
 Vel sic ad Dominum mens redi misera,
 Lapsus peccaminum pensans et pondera;
 Quae mentes hominum mergunt ad infera. 1040

De mentem deprimat captiva servitus;
 Captivam redimat libertas spiritus,
 Sic carnem conprimat; ne carni deditus;
 Homo se dirimat a Deo penitus.

Extensis brachiis procedit obviam; 1045
 Qui pro suppliciis rependit gratiam,
 Nec suam impiis negat clementiam;
 Quos tantis studiis vocat ad veniam.

Oratio congrua post operis conclusionem.

Ad fontem veniae devotus propero,
 Mala miseriae deflens quae perfero, 1050
 In te rex gloriae et non in altero;
 Spem habens gratiae de Matris utero.

Qui lapsos respicis levans de pulvere;

Ad vota supplicis clemens convertere,

Dans ut a lubricis possim resurgere;

1055

Culpae multiplicis soluto pondere.

Prosit quod profuit reverso filio

Quem diu tenuit longinqua regio,

In quo nec tepuit patris affectio;

Luxus quo languit offensa vitio.

1060

Per paenitentiae currens compendia;

Invenit veniae prompta remedia,

Da Pater gloriae pro tua gloria;

Tantae nos gratiae sequi vestigia.

Extende gratiam largitor gratiae,

1065

Solve sententiam jugis miseriae,

Ut ad te veniam qui fons es veniae;

Visurus gloriam caelestis curiae. Amen.

Explicit tractatus rhythrice
compositus de laude crucis et eius effectui

6. Vere dignum

Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek, MS.
Lat. 217, fol. 255^r. 13th century.

Panditur hic nude quare crux copulat .

Forma teres dextra D. cum sit nunc sit aperta:

Mystica designat in scriptis esse reperta.

Forma rotunda Deum designat et omnipotentem

Esse Deum sine principio, finem nec habentem.

5

Quae sentimus in V. gemina virtute peracta:

 praepositum duo signat littera facta,

Virginis intactae designat virginitatem,

Naturae simul humanae signat levitatem.

Crux stans in medio, mediatrix esse videtur

10

Per quam salvaturus homo perditus esse videtur.

Quatuor haec signat mysteria littera talis;

Quatuor idcirco scripturae pingitur alis.

7. Figures of the Cross

London, British Museum, MS. Reg. 10. A. vii,
fol. 199^r. Early 13th century.

Crux est muscipula, baculus, torcular et ara;

Tau, lignum dulce, sycomorus clipeusque.

Crux stachimus, prelum, navis vel malus, aratrum

Caeli, scripturae crux clavis, virgaque crux est.

8. The Crucified Christ to Mankind

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Laud Misc. 22,
ff. 29^v-30^v. 13th century (Walther).

Corporis aut mentis quando gravamina sentis,
Ad me pendentem cruce converte dolentem,
Ut quanti fueris pendenti certificeris.
Conmaculor sputis quae sunt tibi causa salutis;
Pro te confundor probris pugnibus quoque tundor, 5
Caesus coccineae chlamydis subsannor amictu,
Inde crucem bajuleras illudor harundinis ictu,
Furis more ligor, trahor, increpor, et crucifigor.
In capitis spinæ pungentes fronte premuntur,
Et manibus pedibusque meis clavi feriuntur: 10
Hii mentem pungant et compuncta simul ungant,
De plaga lateris sanguis fluit unde laveris,
Quo digne lotus vinceris parvos, homo, motus.
Ecce notes quanti mihi sis, homo, sim tibi tanti,
Quod si tormentis terreris tam violentis, 15
Si potum fellis horres cedique flagellis,
Vendi, vinciri, gladiisque fuste feriri,
Hasta configi, clavis pungi, crucifigi,
Quæ pro te ligno sum passus ab hoste maligno,
Et non ingratus videaris sic reparatus: 20
Sed saltem mentis compassio signa dolentis

1 quando] MS homo, corrected marginally to quando
6 chlamydis] MS clamidis 17 Vendi] MS Vvendi 21 Sed]
MS Set

Monstrent internum lacrimae gemitusque dolorem,
 Cernentis sparsum nati per membra cruorem,
 Et talis nati tot tormentis lacerari
 Quem male tractari cernit dureque ligari, 25
 More trahi, furis duci Scribis sibi duris,
 Judicio sisti Pilati pectore tristi,
 Sic accusari falso quoque teste gravari,
 Sperni, dampnari, cedi, sputis maculari;
 Flere, coronari spinis probris, satiari 30
 In cruce distentum manibus pedibusque cruentum,
 Quod duro leto moritur, potatus aceto.
 Hoc est mucronis vulnus justi Simeonis,
 De quo corda pia^e dixit ferienda Mariae.
 Si sic torqueri natum fratremve videres 35
 Visis tormentis, homo, multum nonne doleres?
 Ergo si saperes pro Christi plus nece fleres,
 Qui tuus est emptor, frater, Deus atque redemptor.

Dominus Jhesus libenter ingreditur thalamum cordis,
ubi aut suae passionis gratiam aut resurrectionis
gloriam conspicit inhabitare

Quanti sis emptus, homo, collige sicque redemptus
 Quodque Dei natus pro te vilis reputatus 40
 Nummis terdenis vendor stringorque catenis.
 Hostibus ecce meis vinctus, trador Pharisaeis;
 Et mundi factor ego judicor ut malefactor,

27 Pilati] MS pylati 29 Sperni] MS SSporni 33 Simeonis] MS symeonis 38/39 Dominus] MS D'. 41 catenis] MS cathenis

Dampnor et illudor, vestamentisque nudor.
 Fit mihi regis honor, spina pungente coronor. 45
 Cum tortore moror a quo derisus adoror;
Aerumnis plenas auget derisio poenas,
 Addunturque gravi poenae crux, lancea, clavi.
 Sic te salvavi proprio quem sanguine lavi;
 Diligito per quem te sic scis esse redemptum, 50
 Et doleas pro te crudeli morte peremptum.

9. -The Friars' Crucifixion

Oxford, Queen's College Library, MS. 362, fol.
 94r. Late 13th century.

In medio crux est; hinc inde Maria, Johannes.
 Sed fratres alias posuerunt in cruce formas:
 Fraunceys et Domnyc astare videntur utrinque.
 Amborum formam lustrans oculis homo quidam,
 Cum miraretur super his hinc inde figuris, 5
 Frater adest quaerens, "Quid respicis? Unde stupescis?"
 "Hos" ait, "aspicio. Rogo qui sunt, quare vel hic sunt?"
 Frater ad haec: "Fili, si nescis, magnus hic est vir!
 Nomine Dominicus hinc stans, Franciscus et illinc!"
 "Iha!" dixit ei. "Nunc mysterium scio verbi; 10
 Nunc quod nescivi me plenius edocuisti--

No. 8. 47 Aerumnis] MS erumpnis

No. 9. 5 his] MS hiis 10 mysterium] MS misterium

Nam satis audiui quod cum Domino crucifixo
 Et duo famosi latrones crimine crucifixi,
 Sed nunquam scivi latronum nomina certa.
 Nunc scio, nunc claret via cognitionis aperta!"

15

10. Aspice pendentem

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Library, MS.
 450, fol. 66^r. 13th/14th centuries.

Aspice pendentem ligno tormenta ferentem,
 Aspice cum clavi figi sint carne suavi,
 Aspice pungentes spinas circumvenientes,
 Aspice miseratum ferroque latus penetratum,
 Aspice cum fluctus currunt per membra corporis:
 Aspice quos luctus patitur pro te quae doloris!

5

11. The Virgin, the Crucified Christ, and Mankind

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preus-
 sischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Lat. oct. 172, ff.
 17^r-17^v. 13th/14th centuries (Walther).

Mater Virgo parit natum qui cuncta creavit;
 Tutus ero si quaesiero te pectore vero.
 Virga dedit florem, transcendit germine florem,
 Justitiae solem dat virga Davidica prolem.

No. 10. 3 circumvenientes] MS circumvenietes

No. 11. 1 Mater] MS Matrer with dot of expunction
 4 Justitiae] MS Justicie Davidica] MS davitica

"Fili?" "Quid, mater?" "Deus es?" "Sum."
 "Cur ita pendes?"

5

"Ne genus humanum tendat ad interitum.

Quid me miraris? Morior ne tu moriaris.

Sum Deus immensus, mundi pro crimine pensus.

Cernite quam turpem pro vobis suffero mortem.

Conscia corda mali caveant a iudice tali.

10

Aspice pendentem crucifigas in cruce maerentem,
 Brachia tendentem complectere me patientem.

Cerne nec incassum si cernis me cruce passum,

Nec te compassum iudex ero qui pietas sum.

Aspice, mortalis, pro te datur hostia talis!"

15

Nec Deus est nec homo praesens quam cernis imago,
 Sed Deus est et homo quem sacra figurat imago:
 Istum non Christum, sed Christum crede per istum.

In cruce sunt fixi latrones nomine dicti
 A dextris Christi Dimas, Gestasque sinistris.
 Inparibus meritis tria pendent corpora ramis,
 Dimas et Gestas, medio divina potestas.
 Alta petit Dimas, infelix infima Gestas.

20

12 patientem] MS pacientem 13 incassum] MS in cassum
 16, 17 imago] MS ymago

12. De virtute sanctae crucis

Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Universitätsbibliothek, MS.
 Lat. 446, ff. 148v-149v. Last half 13th century
 or beginning 14th century.

Crux patefecit iter tendentibus ad paradisum,
 Namque quod obstabat jus est fatale recisum.
 Ensifer ille Dei cherubin aditu patefacto,
 Christicolas intrare minus sinit ense retracto.
 Flammivomus gladius versatilis ille quiescit, 5
 Laetaque Christicolis paradisi porta patescit.
 Intrat quisquis amans a tempore namque Johannis
 Baptistae, patet haec sacra janua clausa tot annis.
 Caelum vim patitur, rapiunt illud violenti,
 Ex quo successit post legem gratia genti. 10
 Gaudet caelorum rex praeclarus super astra
 Armaque praedoni dat ut his adeat sua castra,
 Nec jam pro regno certanti dampna minantur.
 Immo vincenda dat praemia qui superantur,
 Utile certamen, felix violentia talis, 15
 Cum sua praedoni praedatio sit venialis,
 Et cum jam victus victori praestat honorem,
 Cum victor victo se clमित inferior.

Quod ante legem et in lege sanctis patribus regni janua
 clausa fuerit: post datam vero gratiam latroni paeni-
 tenti et ceteris peccatoribus paenitentibus pateat

Primitus obstrusa patriarchis atque prophetis,
 Nunc est facta patens latroni porta quietis, 20

15 violentia] MS violencia

Cui clipeum virtus, mors vitam, spes bona telum.

Contulit arma fides Christi, confessio caelum.

Portavere patres aestus pondusque diei

.

Illos ad regnum non induxere priora,

Plurima saecula sed hunc induxit brevis hora.

25

Detinuit Moysen invite labor diuturnus,

Non hunc denarius tum aequat utrumque diurnus.

Quoque prophetarum patres prius et genetrices

Non poterant; intrant modo fures et meretrices.

Ecce latro pede post Christi vestigia fixo;

30

Introiit regnum crucifixus cum Crucifixo.

Illa vocata Canis, credens intrat Chananaea,

Vinea dicta Dei: gens retrocedis Hebraea

Perfida, tu refugis intrare latrasque retrorsum,

Nec cessas operi pietatis figere morsum.

35

Cumque Dei pietas hos suscipiat venientes,

Exacuis dentes in eum, pietate carentes;

Pone tuam faciem quia praeteriora priora,

Tempora post Christum succedunt posteriora.

Quod sub littera legis Christi latebat gratia quae
non mortificat peccatorem sed vivificat

Quos tua lex saxis solet et ferro lapidare,

40

Gratia nunc Christi studet ad vitam revocare:

Gratia nunc melior quam gratia quae perimebat,

34 retrorsum] MS retrosum 39/40 gratia] MS gracia
41 gratia] MS gracia 43 justitiae] MS justicie

Sub qua justitiae sol ceu sub nube latebat.
 Gratia messiam jamjam venisse prophetat,
 Aspera qui legis removet juga nosque quietat, 45
 Et tamen expectas alium. Sed disce, require
 Quem praemonstrarunt lex, angelis, atque propheta:
 Christus adest, Christi sunt omnia laude repleta.
 Hunc venisse Deum simul acclamant elementa.
 Non elementorum tum attendis documenta, 50
 Nam caeli regem natum monstrat nova stella
 Huncque Deum paribus praebens aqua vina novella.
 Vita defunctos aegrosque salute beavit,
 Cuius sub pedibus mare se calcabile stravit.
 Denique cum moritur sol lunaque sunt tenebrati, 55
 Terra pavens tremuit, surrexerunt tumulati
 Hosque quos male captivavit Avernus,
 Reddidit ad superos cum rex redit ille supernus;
 Et velum templi lapides crucis hostia tollit,
 Sed nondum saxum quod habes in corde remollit. 60
 Visis tot signis nondum Judaea moveris,
Perfidiae sed adhuc tenebris malae caeca teneris.
 Ecce quod expectas: sunt mystica quaeque relecta,
 Verum messiam vel per miracula specta,
 Et quia nuda patent velaminis interiora 65
 Intra, nobiscum crucifixi nomen adora.
 Pone tui Moysi densum velamen arbore:
 Cultus disce novos cultu cessante priore.

Quod Christus sit verus Moyses qui nobis de servitute ereptis agnus paschalis est immolatus, quia per huius mundi desertum nos ad regnum promissum introduxit

Si quaeris Moysen, Moysen jam prospice Christum:

Nil Pharaonis onus oberit tibi si colis istum. 70

Ille fuit typicus, verus nos iste redemit,

Et pharaoniticam gentem crucis ense peremit.

Hic noster Moyses nos duxit per mare rubrum

In fidei lavacro, veterem perimendo colubrum.

Hic paschale sacrum statuit melius celebrari, 75

Agnus se passus pro nobis sacrificari:

Pascha tuum quondam fuit umbra figuraque veri.

Sol Deus effulsit tenebrasque movet removeri

Qui nos mundavit deserti per regionem,

Pascit et ad lactis mellisque trahit stationem. 80

Pascit in Ecclesia quotiens evangeliorum,

Verba recensentur nobis virtusque sacrorum;

Pascit in altari cum vivificis alimentis,

Esurientis enim reficit pia viscera mentis.

Pascit nempe domi quando post spirituales 85

Donat abundanter nobis escas recreales;

Pascit et in caelo cum mens super aethera rapta

Haeret tota Deo superni dulcedine capta;

Sic panis vitae Christus nos pascit ubique.

Cuilibet angelicas escas praebens hominique, 90

70 onus] MS honus 81 quotiens] MS quociens evangeliorum] MS euangeliorum 86 abundanter] MS habundanter

Perfida gens igitur patrum caligine fusca,
 Ut sis vina ferax, desistas esse labrusca.
 Mollicit imbre suo te Christi gratia demum,
 Ut pinguem facias in vitæ vite racemum.
 Me quia detinuit paulum digressio facta,
 Propter videam mea penna priora retracta
 Ut valet in petra frumenti spargere granum.
 Sic quoque Judææ Christum fore judico vanum,
 At semen Christum Judæam petra figurat,
 Fertilitate carens quæ semper saxeæ durat.

95

100

Quod Christus sit granum cadens in terram mortuum
resurgens in sequentem vite multiplicatum sit, de
cuius spirituali grano multiplicato orta sunt grana
fidelium quæ cum illo unum panem efficiunt vitæ
in Ecclesia

Hoc est frumenti granum quod terra fidelis
 Germinat assidue, reddens sua semina cælis

[Text incomplete]

13. Crux fidelis

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod.
Guelf 1099 Helmst., ff. 73^r-74^r. 14th century.

Dulce lignum, dulces clavos

Dulcia ferens pondera

Quae sola fuisti digna

Sustinere regem caelorum.

Alleluia!

5

14. A Grammatical Proverb

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod.
Guelf 323 Gud. lat., fol. 59^r. 14th century.

Versus: Crux est tormentum, crux signum minime dignum,

Et plurale cruces tibi designant meretrices.

15. Carmen de Christo crucifixo

Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit,
Cod. Vulc. 48, fol. 30^r. 14th century.

Milibus annorum non posses mille mereri;

Praemia, quae Christus tibi gratis praestat haberi.

Si pro quoque die det Christus milia mille;

Est modicum valde juxta quod praeparat ille.

Quot punctis servis Christo tot milia donat;

5

Annorum, et plura, quia te sine fine coronat.

Quare momenta vitae contempnere noli,

Et studeas Christo te totum impendere soli?
 Plura tibi Christus annorum milia mille;
 In requie tribuet, quam sint tot in aequore stillae. 10
 Et quam cunctorum fuerit numerus foliorum;
 Pluraque quam plenis corpuscula sint in harenis;
 Quamque minutorum corpuscula sint atomorum;
 In reprobis cuncta sunt haec contraria puncta,
 Qui semper flebunt, quoniam sine fine dolebunt. 15
 Ergo quid in mundo quaeris, nisi vivere regi,
 Cur non contempnis quae sunt contraria legi?
 Hac ego sollicitus formidine vana resigno,
 Et paupertatis pavidus cor stigmatē signo,
 Nil scio nisi Christum Jhesum pro me crucifixum, 20
 Saepe recenter eum videor cruce cernere fixum.
 Vulnera sufferre si posses milia mille;
 Pro Christo, quis ad haec confert quae pertulit ille.
 Si cunctos mundi posses tolerare dolores;
 Quis tam ad Christi valet hos conferre labores; 25
 Nonne magis fuit hoc quod ad horam pertulit ille;
 Quam quod tu ferre posses per saecula mille.
 Quis conferre Domini valeat se partibus illis;
 Conveniet meritis talis collatio nullis.
 Ergo festina pro Christo ferre libenter; 30
 Omnia quae poteris laeteris in his patienter.
 Sit tibi quaeque dies ut prima vel ultima vitae;

Quicquid agis perage sicut nunc ultimo rite,
 Ut non lassetur sapiens saepe haec meditetur;
 Et delectetur in Christo ut glorificetur. 35
 Figere cor sursum conetur in omnibus horis;
 Ut sit continue divini plenus amoris,
 A modo cognoscet Christum in se vivere, fari;
 Quem portat, per quem se speret glorificari. Amen.

16. Carmen de sancta cruce

Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 180,
ff. 1-4. 14th century.

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 1878, ff. 158^r-158^v.

In luctum cithara conversa de crucis ara
 Mens licet ignara flebile carmen ara.
 Ducas signa ducis, dum carmen eo duce ducis;
 Carpe viam lucis stipite fulta crucis.
 Verum de clade prima, primo metra trade; 5
 Continuans metra, de morte sequentis Adae.
 Spiritus aspira, cohibens latramina dira,
 Neve sua satira deliret aegra lira.
 Sancte Dei digne charisma sacrum mihi mitte;
 Pande viam vitae consocians mihi te. 10
 Ignea lingua veni, linguae modulamina leni,
 Unctio dans juveni, posse placere seni:

No. 16. 3 Ducas etc.] After the opening distich the
Trier MS continues unbroken with line 119 of the Strasbourg
text 9 charisma] MS [Strasbourg, =S] karisma

Eripe pigritiam, pigritanti pande sophiam

Ignaro, quoniam te duce carpo viam.

A paradisiocolis fluxit dampnatio solis,

15

Daemonis ova dolis sacrilegisque bolis.

A flatu natum, funesto flebile fatum,

Post necis affatum, fixit in orbe statum.

Vita labore carens moritur quasi flosculus arens;

Dum Sathanae parens peccat uterque parens

20

Haec Sathana temere, temerata fuit muliere

Ille miser misere sic herus haesit herae.

Sic celeri scelere scelerati deperiere;

Contudit ira ferae corda ferina fere.

Namque modo bruti renuentes lege coiti

25

Plus quam virtuti consulere cuti;

Heredes fati sunt horum stirpe creati

Unde dolent nati fata paterna pati.

Ob patre patrata mors est genitis generata:

Sic subeunt fata laesa fatore fata.

30

Ut cedi cedat genus, ille genas dape foedat;

Dum fructum praedat ut sibi funus edat.

Sic cupiens vetita vetitatur habere cupita,

Ob cuius merita mors iteratur ita.

Prima ruina malus serpens fuit et mala malus;

35

Serpens et palus sunt rediviva salus.

25 coiti] S coyti

Lignum letale generavit onus generale,

Dum fructum malae corripuere male.

Sic fera feralis furit et fructus furialis,

Sed crux vitalis dulce malagma malis:

40

Arbor recta secat conversam quam draco caecat,

Ferem defecat ista necemque necat:

Haec necat, haec vegetat, haec dissipat, haec locupletat;

Haec cor iners hebetat, haec cor habere vetat.

Arboris interea sacrae sacrata trophaea

45

Versibus enuclea, Musa repente mea.

Humano generi rex cui proprium miserari

Compatiens, fieri vult homo morte teri.

Salvaturus herum fit herus, de Virgine verum

Corpus habens, uterum non temerando merum.

50

Est homo rex superum superando modum mulierum;

Neve jugum scelerum jugiter arcet herum,

Nec dedignatus populi portare reatus:

Rex incarnatus Virgine matre satus,

Morte salutari moribundis vult medicari,

55

Ne gemat altari plebs sua morte pari.

Sic vitam revocat quia mortem mortuus occat

Fataque suffocat dum cruce membra locat.

Ut mala demittat ligno sacra membra maritat;

Sic mala subpeditat dum cruce membra sitat:

60

Carne sacra trita, mors mortificatur a vita,

40 malagma] S malagna 44 iners] S inhers

Et moriens vita vivificatur ita.

Ecce redemptoris dolor: est medicina doloris

Quem rubei roris rubricat unda foris;

Oblitus est sputis, clavis penetratus acutis,

65

Sanguineis guttis est rubricata cutis.

Subjacuit poenae caro tota Jhesu sine pene:

Ossa, caro, venae, pes, manus, ora, genae.

Vita vorata vorat mortem quam vivere vorat,

Et veniam rorat dum latus hasta forat.

70

Fumis adesse sinit dum fimus funere finit;

Fataque victor init dum mala nostra linit.

Sanguine nos recreat quasi pellicanus, nos phariseat

Fata, Sathan laqueat ne laqueare queat.

Ecce lutum: later Aegypti per eum latuere,

75

Nec barathri latere praevaluere serae.

Sic labem lavit dum carne trabem trabeavit;

Sic mortem stravit stratus in orbe David.

O patiens juvenis, qui vulnus vulnere lenis,

Cur poenas penis evacuare venis?

80

Quanta fuit pietas tua qua miseros locupletas

Cum sibi lucra petas est tibi dampna metas!

Non tibi, sed miseris miserabiliter misereris,

Sic miser efficeris, te miserandae teris.

O juvenis, mittis quantae discrimina litis?

85

66 guttis] S gutis 75 Aegypti] S egipti 79 patiens]
S paciens

Artubus inmeritis cur tolerare sitis?
 O caro cara carens carie, charismate clarens,
 Quam Verbo parens edidit alma parens;
 Qua pietate pias scelus orbis ut hostia fias,
 Arcet et alterias impia turba pias. 90
 Quo, caro dulcis, abis? Cur tollis pondere labis?
 Ut crucieris ab iis, sarcina facta trabis?
 Cur ligno nubis, caro lucida, nescia nubis?
 Cur tormenta subis ut moriari sub iis?
 Cur discrimen inis, exponens membra ruinis? 95
 Ut moriens hominis vita revivat in iis?
 Heu! poenis haeres pene non criminis heres;
 Ob culpas veteres te terit hasta teres.
 Sic, animose gygas, quid fato fata fatigas?
 Ut culpas abigas sanguine membra rigas. 100
 Quid moror? Haud dubium pietatis opus fore dium;
 Morte plans vitium praeterit omne pium.
 O miranda Dei pietas cedit rabiei,
 Justus neve rei suppeditentur ei;
 Ne vivat fatum cruce vita subit cruciatum: 105
 Sic decuit stratum vivificare statum.
 Nam Patrem natus, mortem mors poena reatus
 Mulcet, fitque ratus irritus ante status.
 Victima paschalis, victoria prodigialis,
 Pugna triumphalis, consulere malis; 110

87 charismate] S karismate 92, 94 iis] S hiis 96 iis]
 S hiis

Pastor namque bonus, pacis pater atque patronus,

Probra pians pronus portat ovilis onus.

Agni mactari nihil infertur Deitati:

Credimus hunc fati pondera carne pati.

Sic Deus illaesus quem noster non terit esus 115

Verberibus caesus dum fuit ipse Jhesus,

Omni illaetum prae dulce praeutile letum

Laetificans fletum, spe reprimente metum.

De crucis ornatu metra non indigna relatu

Flaminis afflatu, Musa, refer tua tu. 120

Arbor fructifera, crucifixi facta statera,

Crux crucians scelera praedita carne mera;

Ara salutaris, praelata prioribus aris

Quae summi jubaris lumen in orbe paris.

Cetera ligna praeis, regis redimita trophaeis, 125

Tu vitam revehis, facta medela reis.

Tu foedus pacis renovas animabus opacis,

Luciferaeque facis lumen adesse facis;

Tu summi regis thronus, arca novae nova legis,

Tu peccata gregis, crux veneranda regis, 130

Tu vitae vitis nobis vitalia mittis

Pocula, quis habitis exulat aegra sitis.

113 nihil] S nichil 119] This line and those following,
to line 176, appear as ll. 3-60 of the Trier MS [T] 120
 afflatu] T affatu 123 aris] T alis 129 thronus] T tronus
 arca] ST archa

Porro salutiferi signi sacra signa fateri

Restat, et ex veteri semine pauca seri.

Hoc insignitum signum, signis redimitum, 135

Antiquis reditum pandat ad astra citum.

Haec crux sublimis humiles sublimat ab imis;

Nuntiat hanc primis lex tenebrosa nimis.

Hanc nova glorificat lex, amplexatur, amicat,

Pristina significat, sic in utraque micat. 140

Haec caeli clavis, lignum vitae, sacra navis

Diluvii, proavis commoda ramus avis;

Scala Jacob parens Moysique rubus mihi clarens

Igne, nec exarens ignis in igne carens;

Virgula ductoris quae castra Jacob senioris 145

Traxit tortoris a regione foris.

Haec specie colubri colubros vorat ore salubri;

Hac prece lugubri stat Maris unda Rubri:

Hostes funereos submergit, salvat Hebraeos,

Salvat item cuneos cum petra potat eos. 150

Palus salvificans statuam serpentis amicans,

Virga lacum medicans, virgaque flore micans,

Haec lyra grata sonis David, haec thronus est Salomonis,

Arca ferens pronis foedera plena bonis.

Quid moror? Ecce vetus ager, eius odore repletus, 155

135 signis] T signia 136 pandat] T pandit 137 imis]
T ymis 142 commoda] T comoda 144 exarens] T exarans
147 specie] T species 148 Hac] T Ac 150 potat] T patat
153 lyra] ST lira thronus] T tronus 154 Arca] ST Archa

Nunc reverens cetus gaudet ei dare thus.
 Jam legis veteris si scripta revolvere quaeris,
 Signis innumeris sufficies super his.
 Crux bona, plena bonis, paradisi clara colonis,
 Legis praeconis praetitulata sonis: 160
 Est aratrum parens barathrum, barathrique theatrum;
 Clarificans atrum, facta lucerna patrum.
 Illa renatorum fons, illa medela reorum,
 Regi caelorum digna parare torum;
 Illa timoratis clipeus, baculus maceratis, 165
 Virga fit ingratis, undivagisque ratis.
 Ponti pons stabilis et caula fidelis ovilis,
 Clava sacri pugilis, pax pavidis sibi lis.
 Crux basis Ecclesiae, fideique columna, Mariae
 Fert fructum, veniae grata ministra pia: 170
 Crux sollempne ducis sceptrum, crux virga caducis,
 Crux est fax lucis, crux fera poena crucis.
 Plurima quid referam, si digna dari dare quaeram?
 Aut pennam teneram carmen arando terem,
 Aut pueri teneri renuent nova metra tueri, 175
 Cum nequeant sceleri publicae scripta geri.
 Sic mens lectorum nisi forte retraxero lorum
 Metra sinet, quorum sunt aditura chorum.

157 revolvere] T resolvere 158 super his] T superis
 159 clara] T plena 161] T Estque parans aratrum baratrum
 baratrique theatrum barathrum] ST baratrum theatrum]
 S teatrum 164 torum] ST thorum 165 clipeus baculus] T
 baculus clipeus 168 sacri] T sacra 169 columna] ST col-
 umpna 171 sceptrum] T ceptum 176 publicae] S poplite
 T publice

Musa modesta, satis: lentis incumbe lupatis,
 Fluctibus inflatis fluctuat aegra ratis; 180
 Dum fluitat prora fluitantis contrahe lora,
 Metas explora littoris absque mora.
 Solve Deo grates, mea Musa, Dei nova vates:
 Portu pene dates mitius, ergo nates
 Cum Patre, cum nato, flamine cum glorificato, 185
 Ligno sacrato laudis honore dato.
 Patrem glorifico, natum laudo, benedico
 Pneuma, tribus supplico quis decus omne dico.
 Tres exalto quidem si vero fidem fidei dem:
 Tres sunt non idem, nec tria sunt sed idem; 190
 Persona varia, sic non variatur usia,
 Hac decet ad patria regna redire via.
 Glorifico, decoro te, crux decorata, decoro
 Corpore, fulguro me sociato choro.
 Ecclesiaeae petra Petre, parve solo sed in aethra, 195
 Magne vacans pharetra dat tibi pauca metra.
 Huic operi tu des operam, vitiis metra nudes,
 Versus desudes eruderare rudes,
 Namque magisterio polles et dogmate dio:
 Multiplici radio te radiare scio. 200

184 mitius] S mittius 188 supplico] S suplico
 194 fulguro] S fulgoro 197 vitiis] S viciis 201-205]
 S only

G	Grande Dei donum genuit cultura colonu	M	
A	Arte Dei magna pastor processit ab agn	A	
V	Vas amplexatur figulum quem stella profatu	R	
D	De reditu rivi fons laetatur rediviv	I	
E	Exultat pharetra quod harundine panditur aethr A		205

17. An ABC of the Cross

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 233 [Summ. 2188], ff. 4^r-4^v. Before 1350.

Crux cara Christicolis / celso consecrata	}	creatoris.	}
Conjuncta caelicolis / carne cruentata			
Ave arbor ardua / afflictos absolvens	}	amatoris.	}
Amplexatrix assidua / animum advolvens			
Bona beatissime / barathrum bellasti	}	benedicto.	}
Balsamo blandissime / bonos balneasti			
Decora dignissima / Deo dedicata	}	derelicto.	}
Denoto dulcissima / dona dans ditata			
Exulantes eripe / errores expelle	}	erumpentes.	}
Estuosum excipe / erumpnas evelle			
Fax felix florigera / fulgida formosa	}	fac ferventes.	}
Famules fructifera / facere famosa			
Gemma grata gramina / gratiae gessisti	}	gemebunde.	}
Gloriosa germina / genti genuisti			

- 15 Horridis hostilibus / hinnias horrores
 Haereas humilibus / hauriens honores } hic habunde. /
- Ihesu iuncta Ierico / imos intuere
 Invocantes illico / inclitans iubere } inclinatis. /
- Kara carens cariae / karismatizata
 20 Cantica Calvariae / causans canorata } caritatis. /
- Legis lator lateris / livore lavabat
 Lignum lucens litoris / labiles levabat } leto loto. /
- Miro modo micuit / mutato maerore
 Minas mali minuit / morte morsa more } mortis moto. /
- 25 Nitidata numine / nocivis natantes
 Nobilitos nomine / nos na naufragantes } nullans noxam. /
- O ornata onere / odium offende
 Oneratis opere / operam ostende } orthodoxam. /
- Pro peccante populo / principem pendentem
 30 Portasti periculo / protege petentem } peccatorem. /
- Qui quietem quaerimus / quaerenti quiesce
 Quaerulosum quaesumus / quietis quatesce } quassatorem. /
- Rege regum regeris / retinens regentem
 Redemptorem reperis / releva ruentem } rogitantem. /
- 35 Salve salutiferum / signum sanctitatis
 Servum salva scelerum / semitis sublatiis } supplicantem. /
- Tu triumphi titulus / tu terres terendum
 Tuis tutus tumulus / thau terra tenendum } triumphale. /

18 illico] MS ilico 21/22 leto] Glossed morte in margin 36] Following this line is a marginal note: Respice ex altera parte folii

- Virgulis vnifica / virtute vivaci
 40 Vi virens vivifica / vexillo veraci
 Xpe sancte xennifer / immolate ligno
 Haesitanti signifer / vinces in hoc signo
 Ydola ypocrisim / irrites usia
 Mentisque paralisim / sana facta via
 45 Zimata zizannica / purges bono zelo
 Schemata uranica / da directo velo
 Et qui cunctos redimens / passus es in cruce
 Mortis noctem perimens / fac nos frui luce
- >valens/vale./
 >mandans regi.
 >verae legi.
 >ad examen.
 >tecum. Amen.

18. The Four Woods of the Cross

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 12527,
 fol. 7^v. 14th century. [M₁]

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17787,
 fol. 207^r. 15th century (1414). [M₂]

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 593, fol.
 48^r. 14th century. [P]

In cruce pes cedrus, stipesque cypressus, oliva
 Tabula fit tituli; brachia palma dedit.

No. 17. 42 Haesitanti] MS Esitanti 43 ypocrisim]
 =hypocrisim 46 Schemata] MS Scemata 47 cunctos] MS
 cuntos

No. 18. 1 stipesque] M₂ stipes est cypressus] M₁M₂
 cipressus 2 fit] P sit tituli] M₂ tytuli dedit] M₂
 tenet

19. Devota collocutio piissimae
Virginis Mariae cum dominica cruce

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. M. ch. q.
 156, ff. 273^r-273^v. 15th century (Walther).

Loquar tecum, crux beata,

Mihi quaeso sis parata

Respondere dulciter.

In te proles mea cara

Cur sic poena stat amara,

5

Condemnata turpiter?

Cur, O palma et cypressus,

Tot in vobis est perpessus

Mitis agnus vulnera?

Quare, crux, insontem angis

10

Immo et cor meum frangis,

Jam transfixum machaera?

Istud quaeso estne dignum

Caeli regem quod benignum

Tuis appendis cornibus?

15

Sicque sanctum et perfectum

Dei natum praelectum

Affligis cum latronibus!

Revera te non meruit,

Iter qui non deseruit

20

Vitae et justitiae,

Title collocutio piissimae] MS collocutio pyssime
 2 mihi] MS michi 6 condemnata] MS condempnata 11 immo]
 MS ymmo 21 justitiae] MS justicie

Sed est reus tali morte
 Qui cum prava se cohorte

Viae dat nequitiae.

Quare ergo donas tale

25

Innocenti triste vale,

Immenso cum opprobrio?

En libertas conclavatur,

Summus in te blasphematur

Habeturque ludibrio.

30

Maeret super eum polus,

Terra tremit homo solus,

Corde non recogitat.

Plura eius mira signa,

Vera prorsus fide digna,

35

Sed tantis eum cruciat.

O crux, in te diris poenis

Nec attendit quod cum trenis

In tali stans angustia;

Dulce Patrem orat prece

40

Reis ut de sua nece

Benigne detur venia.

24 nequitiae] MS nequicie 42/43 After the last line
of the Virgin's complaint is the instruction Verte in
the scribe's hand

Responsio salvificae crucis

Audi, Virgo singularis,
 Dicta clara stella maris,
 Quid quaeris tibi referam. 45
 Natus tuus benedictus
 Duros in me tulit ictus,
 Sed nihil gessit perperam;
 Nec ego eum rapui,
 Oblatum vero tenui, 50
 Sciens quod ipse voluit:
 Saevum hostem sic fugare,
 Et salutem mundo dare
 Quam Adam illi abstulit.
 Mea namque fixus spina 55
 Dulcis factus est resina
 Languorem sanans hominum
 Eva mater quem adduxit,
 Serpens eam dum seduxit
 Ut contempneret Dominum. 60
 Ponitur lux sub modio,
 Vita habetur odio,
 Sed praeclarus titulus
 Docet quare juguletur,
 Et pro quibus immoletur 65

48 nihil] MS nichil 63 titulus] MS tytulus
 65 immoletur] MS ymmoletur

Agnus hic anniculus.
 Consolari ergo, pia,
 Quia cunctis vera via
 Caeli ad palatium
 Jam paratur per me crucem, 70
 Ut sequantur verum ducem
 Juge ad solacium.
 Moderare inquam planctum,
 Quia natum tuum sanctum
 Plenum nunc doloribus 75
 Salvum semper rehabebis,
 Exultanterque videbis
 Summis in honoribus.
 Nosti haec, O Virgo clemens,
 Sed materno corde gemens 80
 Prolis pro injuria
 Ensem sentis Simeonis,
 Fruitura cunctis bonis,
 In superna curia. Amen.

Oratio

Sancta Virgo Maria, angelorum domina et universa spes
 hominum, subveni nobis miseris et propter dolores tuos
 eripe nos a doloribus nostris praesentibus, et protege
 ab aeternis. Amen.

66 anniculus] MS angniculus with "g" cancelled
 69 palatium] MS palacium 82 Simeonis] MS symeonis

20. De martyrio crucifixi

Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1086 [olim 931],
fol. 175^r. 15th century (Walther). [M]

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS. I. oct.
59, fol. 223^v. [W]

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 641,
fol. 62^v. 15th century. [Mü]

Mysticus hic coluber, cruce luguber, ipse saluber
Atque cruore ruber, variis effectibus uber,
Omne terit tuber: et Stygis nexile suber,
Hunc puer, hunc puber, hunc canus sugat ut uber.

Title Mü De martirio crucifixi W Circa imaginem cru-
cifixi M untitled l Mysticus] MWMü Misticus 3 terit]
M fugat Stygis] WMü stigis M culpe nexile] Mü nexille
W vexille with noxile [=noxiale] inserted marginally--see
note 4 canus] W anus sugat ut] M fugat et

21. Dialogue of Christ and the Sinner

København, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS. Gl. Kgl. S.
3401 (80), fol. 980v. 15th century (Walther).

"Respice, serve Dei, me sic posuere Judaei;
Respice, devote, quam sic pendeo pro te.
Si tu tempteris aut daemonis arte moveris,
Respice pendentem in cruce: salvus eris.
Si me pensatis, nihil est quod vos toleratis. 5
Aspice, moralis pro te datur hostia talis.
Plange Deum, qui plangit eum quem morte redemit.
Aspice, mortalis, fuit umquam passio talis?
Peccatum sperne, pro quo mea vulnera cerne!
Aspice qui tantum sum quia tu mihi causa doloris; 10
Pro te passus ita, pro me moralia vita.
Spretus, illusus, sto pro te sanguine fusus.
En, morior pro te! videas quid agas, homo, pro me.
Sic, homo, diligo te quae pendo victima pro te:
Ut vivas, morior: non est dilectio maior. 15
Haec patior pro te qui peccas: desine pro me."

O bone Jhesu, tuae bonitati regratior quod haec vulnera
hosque dolores et hanc mortem turpissimam pro me recipere
voluisti.

5 nihil] MS nichil 10 Aspice qui] MS Aspice mortalis
qui (mortalis cancelled) 15 vivas] MS vivos with "a"
written over "o"

22. Versus de
passione Christi Domini nostri

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 26847,
fol. 125^r. 15th century.

"Peccatum redimam moriens quod fecerat Adam;
Hinc delicta tua delet mea passio dura.
Perspicias in me quanto fluo sanguine pro te
Vulnera; perquamque rogo nunc, homo: crimina linque
Et tibi perpetuam cum Patre meo dabo vitam."

5

In cruce clamat "Heli!" cui servit curia caeli,
Qui pro morte brevi tribuit bona perpetuis aevi.
Perturbata pia stas cum Johanne Maria;
Morte tui nati quam pauci vere beati
Corde suo tundunt, laudes dignasque refundunt.
Salvator, mite libro nos insere vitae.

10

23. The Joy of the Cross

Wien, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Schot-
tenstift Cod. 161, fol. 132^v. 15th century (Wal-
ther).

Crux mihi sit risus, crux gloria, crux paradisus;
Crux mihi dulcorem tribuat dulcemque saporem.
Crux mihi lux orta, crux vitae sit mihi porta;
Crux bona, crux alma, crux inclita, sit mihi palma,
Crux mihi semper amen sit virtus atque juvamen.

5

24. Versus de inventione sanctae crucis

London, British Museum, MS. Cott. Jul. A. vii,
ff. 83v-84r. 15th century.

Crux sermo mutis, crux aegris cura salutis
Ex dubium certum me reddit laude disertum:
Ne me corrumpat torpor, mea vincula rumpat.
Rex Constantinus cruce vincit et ille supinus
Barbarus ducetur populusque palma docetur. 5
Somno de caelis fit per baptisma fidelis:
Rex et gens tota sunt idola cuncta remota.
Sancta Deo plena sua vixit mater Helena;
Ut crux quaeratur desiderat huc properatur
Ligni vitalis loca conjunx imperialis: 10
Quae sitiit scire negat impia plebs aperire.
Jungi mandata synagoga cum scelerata,
Judam pro reliquis collegiis tradit iniquis
Carcere intorqueri meruit pro nolle fateri.
Causa rei site, cui sit promissio vitae: 15
Sancta capit optata per eum regina beata.
Exit, tendebat verba, crux divina jacebat:
Se prosternebat orans quae clausa latebat,
Virtus splendebat ligni, se terra movebat,
Et umbra reddebat quae pignora longa tenebat; 20
Vita patebat, mors fugiebat et turba canebat.

1 mutis] MS mitis 3 corrumpat] MS corumpat 4 et]
The sign lacks a cross-stroke 6 somno] MS sompno 7 idola]
MS ydola 11 sitiit] MS siciit 12 Jungi] MS Iugni--see n.
20 umbra] MS ubra pignora] MS pingnora

Virtutis tantae crucis est inventio sanctae
 Ut vitam praestet perpetuam Christus eam manifestet.
 Plausu jocundo succedat gratia mundo;
 Sanctior omnibus est qua victa morte salus est, 25
 In qua regnavit defunctum vivificavit,
 Qua morte stravit mortem cruce vita fugavit.
 Pestes exulorum pellit spes vera bonorum;
 Plurima gens credit, ab iniqua plebe recedit.
 Impia Judaea plebs a vero Pharisaea; 30
 Christi morte rea Sathane jacet ima chorea.
 Nos cruce salvamur, Domini mortem velamur,
 Ipsi reddamur ut ab hostibus eripiamur. Amen.

25. Two Verses on the Woods of the Cross

Braunschweig, Stadtbibliothek, MS. 123, fol. 49r. 15th century (Walther).

A.

Pes cedrus est, truncus cypressus, oliva supremum
 Palmaque transversum sunt in Christi cruce lignum.

B.

In cruce sunt palma cedrusque cypressus, oliva:
 Cedrus ut in trunco confixa, cypressus in imo,
 Palma transverso si oliva locum in alto.

No. 24. 31 ima] MS yma

No. 25B. 1,2 cypressus] MS cipressus 2 imo] MS ymo
 3 alto] MS yalto

26. Hail, Glorious Cross

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. J. 55, fol.
57v. 15th century (1480).

O crux salve gloriosa,

O crux salve pretiosa,

Me per verba curiosa

Te laudare, crux formosa,

Fac praesenti carmine.

5

Sicut tu de carne Christi

Sancta sacrata fuisti,

Eius corpus suscepisti

Et sudore maduisti

Lota sacro sanguine.

10

Corpus, sensus, mentem meam

Nec non vitam salves ream,

Ut commissa mea fleam

Me signare per te queam

Contra fraudes hostium.

15

Me defendas de peccato

Et de facto desperato

Hoste

[Oratio]

Adesto nobis, Domine Deus noster, et quos sanctae
crucis laetare facis honore eius quoque perpetuis defende
subsidiis. Per Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum. Amen.

2 pretiosa] MS preciosa 6 Christi] MS cristi 15 fraudes]
MS frades 17 facto] MS fto--see note.

27. The Cross of Pope Sixtus IV

Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. M. ch. q.
2, fol. 1v. After 1484.

Crux facit papam quem Sixtum nomine dicunt:

Passus ab artetica non vivet mensibus octo.

"Inclita sum quercus quondam lustrata triumphis

Quam Laelius Caesar dederat tibi maximus olim,

Et licet obscura fuerim labentibus annis."

5

Nunc summo quartus decoravit Sixtus honore.

28. Circa crucem

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS. I.
oct. 44, fol. 127^r.

Golgotha et Calvaria, locus vilissimus

Iste in quo poenarum genus hoc praedicatur tibi, Christe.

Aspice quem vasti non suscipit ambitus orbis

Sustulit immensum quantulacumque trabes.

Dum male fecisti, mox inspicere vulnera Christi;

5

Reflecte genua, plora, crucifixum adora.

Vae mihi si peccata mea non deflevero,

Vae mihi si media nocte non surrexero

Ad confitendum tibi, O bone Jhesu!

No. 28. 1 Golgotha] MS Golgatha vilissimus] MS vylis-
simus 2 praedicatur] MS pr Christe] MS criste 5 Christi]
MS cristi 7,8 mihi] MS michi

29. The Crucified
Christ and the Seven Principal Vices

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS. I. fol.
 478, fol. 233v.

Inclinans in cruce caput rex erga superbos,
 Invidiam contra sua foedit brachia sancta.
 Arguit iratos coram tondente tacens se;
 Accidiam contra quaerentibus ab imis ivit.
 Ipsum se tribuit in cruce propter avaros,
 Erga gulam potatur aceto felleque Christus,
 Contra luxuriam sudavit sanguine guttas:
 Dicuntur vitia capitalia versibus istis.

5

30. Locutio crucifixi ad peccatorem

Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, MS. I. oct.
 59, fol. 238v.

Vide, homo, quam pro te patior;
 Non est dolor sicut quo crucior.
 Ad te clamo qui pro te morior;
 Vide poenas quibus afficior,
 Vide clavos quibus confodior;
 Dum sit tantus dolor exterior,
 Intus planctus est gravior,
 Tam ingratum dum te experior.

5

No. 29. 8 vitia] MS vicia

No. 30. 1 patior] MS pacior

31. Christ's Speech to the Sinner

Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 1908-10,
fol. 48r. Early 16th century.

What ich pole, man, by-hald:

Lyt ich am of þe ytald.

Wyp al my my3te to þe ich dye.

þer nys no pyne ylich myn,

5

By-hold þe sorwe þat ich am in;

By-hold þe nayles sarpe and kene,

In fet and honden hy be3t y-sene.

More me grevyt unkendnesse of man

þan al þe sor3e in wich ich am.

10

32. Gospel for the Invention of the Cross

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. poet. a. 1,
ff. 221r-221v [A] and 194v-195r [B]. After 1382.

Erat homo ex Pharisaeis Nichodemus

Seint Jon in þis gospel telleþ,
Fful opunly of Crist he spelleþ,
And seip as I schal sei to 3ow,
3if þat 3e wole lustene now.

Hit was a mon, a Pharysene:

5

Nichodemus he hihte, I wene;
A prince he was, þe sope to telle,
Of Jewes lawe, seip ure gospelle.

He com bi nihte to Jhesus

And to him he seide þus:

10

"Maister, we wite wel nou

þat from God comen art þou,

And mayster now I þe calle

Ffor þow wost wel what schal bi-falle.

No mon may do so openly

15

þe merveilles þat þou dost fer and neih,

Verreyliche uche mon to seo,

Bote miht of God schulde in him beo."

Jhesu onswerde sone a-non,

And seide to þat ilke mon,

20

2 opunly] B openly 3 sei] B sey 3ow] B 3ou 5 Hit]
B His a] B of 6 hihte] B hi3te 9 Jhesus] B Jhesu
11 Maister] B Mayster nou] B now 12 þou] B þow 16 mer-
veilles] B mervayles 18 him] B hym 19 sone] B soone

"Fforsope, forsope, I telle hit þe,
 Bote he þat twy3es bore mai be,
 Non oper may seo þat kyngdom
 þere-as dwelleþ God and mon."

Nichodemus seide þo 25
 To Jhesu wiþ wordus þro,

"Hou miht a mon beo twy3es bore,
 Whon he is waxen old and hore?
 Me pinkep hit mihte him not geyn
 To entren his moder wombe a-3eyn; 30
 þen pinkep me gret merveile hit wore
 Hou he a-3eyn schulde be bore."

þen onswerde swete Jhesus,
 And seide to Nichodemus þus:
 "Fforsope, mon, I seye to þe, 35

Bote he of holy watur boren be,
 And of þe Holygost also,
 In-to þat kyngdam may he not go.
 þat is þe kyngdam þat God of tolde,
 þer murpe and joye is monyfolde: 40
 He þat is boren of fflesch i-wis,
 No-þing bote flesch he ne is.

"And he þat is of spirit bore
 A spirit he mot ben þerfore.

22 mai] B may 23 oper] B opur kyngdom] B kynedom
 26 wordus] B wordes 27 miht] B mihte 31 merveile] B mer-
 veyle 32 Hou] B Ho schulde be] B scholde beo 36 Bote]
 B Bot watur] B water 37 Holygost] B holigost 38,39 kyng-
 dam] B kyndam 42 No-þing] B No-þyng he ne is] B þenne he
 nis 44 ben] B be

Ne merveyle not of þis matere, 45
 Whi I sey þus to þe heere.
 Ffor everi creature þat Godus is
 Moste beo twy3es boren i-wis--
 Ffor a spirit þer he wolle
 He spireþ a mon fastyng and folle 50
 And a mon þat wol hit lere
 þe spirites vois may he here.
 But hardely he not not al
 Wheyen he com ne whoder he schal.
 So fareþ of hem to seie to þe 55
 Of þo þat of spirit boren be."
 And Nichodemus a-non þere
 To Jhesus seide þis onswere:
 "Hou," he seide, "mihte þis bene?
 Ffor þis is merveyle þing to mene!" 60
 Jhesus seide wiþ wordus goode
 To Nichodemus þer he stode:
 "A maister þou art in Israel,
 But of þis þing knowest þou not wel.
 Fforsoþe, I sei to þe þus softe 65
 þat þat we witen we speken hit ofte,
 And þat we seon I sei þe þis:

45 matere] B mateere 46 heere] B here 48 twy3es boren]
 B twyes i-boren 50 and] A an 53 hardely] B hardyli 55
 seie] B sey 60 merveyle] B merveyl 63 maister] B mayster
 64 þing] B þyng 65 sei] B seye 66 witen] B wyten speken]
 A spekep 67 seon] B sen sei] B sey

Ofte tymes we hit witnis,
 And þauh ur witnissyng beo soþe,
 3e take hit not to no bi-hove. 70
 þauh I telle 3ou of þing witerli,
 3e leeven not hit inwardli:
 Gostly þing to 3ou to say
 Hit nere bote wast a-way.
 Hou scholde I sey to þow 75
 þat 3e wolde my wordes trow?
 And riht I seye, to þe and mo,
 No mon schal to hevene go
 But þat ilke same mon
 þat bi-fore from hevene com: 80
 He com from hevene, soþ to say,
 Godus sone and mon verray,
 þe whuche is ful mihti
 þat nou is in hevene an hei3.
 "And riht as Moyses wip his 3erde 85
 Reisede þe serpent in deserte,
 So bi-hoveþ, I telle hit þe,
 Monnes soule a-reysed be,
 And þo þat ben clene of synne
 As wol holliche bi-leeven in himme, 90

69 beo] B be 70 bi-hove] B by-hove 71 3ou] B ow wit-
 erli] B witterly 72 not hit inwardli] B hit nou3t inwardly
 74 nere bote wast] B neore not bote i-wasted 75 sey] B
 seye þow] B 3ou 76 þat] B But þat wordes trow] B wordus
 trou 90 As] B And himme] B hyme

þei schule no perischung have.
 To endeles lyf he wol hem save."
 God graunt us alle þer to be,
 þat we may þi face se.
 þis is þe strengþe of þis gospel,
 As mon in Englisch tonge may tel.

95

*

Clerkes uppon þis gospel schewe
 Wordus feire as on a rewe,
 And seyn as I schal tellen þou,
 3if 3e wollen hit here nou.

100

A Phariseen to mene i-wis
 He þat from þe lawe i-parted is,
 Ffor no mon may hem justifie
 But liven in heor owne folie.
 In heþen lawe wol þei ay beo,
 No mon may don hem þerfrom fleo.

105

But Nichodemus was non of þo
 Of dedes, þeih he weore cald so,
 þer he com to Jhesu bi niht,
 þat menep out of Jewes siht,
 Ffor whon he wolde to Jhesu go,
 He hudde his goynge þe Jewes fro.

110

91 perischung] B perischyng 95-96] Not in B 99 tellen]
 B telle 100 wollen] B wolle 101 Phariseen] B pharisen
 103 justifie] B justifie 104] B Bote lyven in heore owne
 folye 105 beo] B be 106 fleo] B fle 108 þeih] A þei
 112 his goynge] B is goynde

þerfore bi niht þus seip he,
 Ffor to þe Jewes nit was prive.

þis same mon þat I of tel 115
 Was a techere in Israel,
 And in God wel leevede he,
 þerfore i-blessed mot he be.

Ffor ever-more he was sori
 Whon Jewes to him hedden envi 120

þer-as he seide to Jhesus
 No mon mihte do þis merveyles
 þat he dude fer and nere
 But 3if Godhede wip him were.

Bi þis word, sop to say, 125
 He graunted him God and mon verray,
 Ffor in him he hedde good trist
 And kneuh him for his Lord Crist.

þer Jhesu seide, "I sei to þe,
 A mon moste twi3es boren be 130
 þat schal entren, al in pes,
 In-to þe kyndam endeles,"

þis is as muche to lere
 As whon a mon is boren here,
 In fflesch of his modur bodye 135

113 bi] A beo 115 tel] B telle 116 Israel] B Israelle
 119 ever-more] B evermore 120 him] B hym envi] B envy
 122 mon] A moni merveyles] B merveylus 124 wip] B in
 130 twi3es] B twy3es 131 pes] B pees 132 kyndam] B kindam
 135 fflesch] B flesch

To hevene so may he not sti3e,

Bot he mot have more þer-to,

His Cristendom to undurfo.

In holi watur sone a-non

Of þe prest at þe font ston

140

þe develes craft þer to forsake

And to Godus lawe hym take.

3if he holde þis wip-uten bost,

þen is he bore wip þe Holi Gost.

Everi good mon þerfore

145

Moste he þus beo twi3es bore,

3if he wolde cleyme for to be

In hevene, bi-fore Godes see.

Ffor Nichodemus furst wende he

þat mon of wommon scholde twies boren be:

150

þerfore he seide to Jhesus,

"How," he seide, "miht hit beo þus?"

Bot ur Lord seide to him wel,

"þow art a mayster of Israel,

But of þis knowest þou nouht,

155

Til hit beo opurweis to þe brouht:

Ffor þat we witen verreyli,

136 sti3e] B sty3e 137 Bot] B Bote mot] B mote 139
holi] B holy 140 font] B ffont 142 hym] B him 143 wip-
uten] B wip-ute 144 Holi Gost] B holygost 146 beo twi3es]
B twyes beo 147 for to] B forte 148 Godes] B godus 150
wommon] B wommen twies] B twyes 153 Bot] B But 154 mays-
ter of] B maister in 156 opurweis] B operweis 157 verreyli]
B verreyly

We witnessen hit ofte forþi;

And þat we seon wiþ ur ei3e,

We speken hit ful apertelye.

160

And ure witnesse 3e nul not take

To profyt for 3or owne sake.

þei3 I sey worldly þyng to 3ou,

And 3e hit 3it nul not trou,

Hou scholde 3e þenne leeve on hy3e

165

On þyng þat is gostlye?"

þerfore seide Jhesu in his þouht,

þat þe soþe 3it knowe 3e nouht,

Ffor moni mon in bi-leeve nul beo

Bote þei wiþ e3e mihte him seo,

170

And þouh þei se3e him in heor siht,

Vanite þei wolde holde hit riht.

And þere-as Jhesu seide him so,

No mon to hevene schal he go

Bote he þat from hevene com,

175

þe whuche is clept þe sone of wommon,

Jhesu, steih up feire and soone

þe sone and mon and God in trone.

And þer he sti3ede up so hi3e,

159 ei3e] B e3e 162 3or] B or 163 ei3] B eih þyng]
 B þing 3ou] B 3ow 164 trou] B trow 165 Hou] B How
 hy3e] B hi3e 166 þing] B þyng 169 moni] B mony bi-leeve]
 B by-leeve nul beo] B nil be 170 Bote] B But him seo] B
 hym se 173 þere-as] B þer-as 177 soone] B sone 179 sti-
 3ede] B steyhde hi3e] B heihe

Wip kynde of mon ful worpilye, 180

Ffor God and mon forsope was he

þe Holigost, þat is þe Trinite:

þe whuche from hevene com to take

Monkynde heer for ure sake.

þe cause of his comynge doun: 185

To bringe mon redempcion,

To make us Godus sones and mon also

þat we scholde aftur to hevene go.

Ffor from hevene come alle we

Whom Adam eet of þe appel tre, 190

And sipen weore we brou3t a-3eyn

Whon ur Lord for us soffrede peyn;

And þider-ward ever beo we,

þulke þat here goode men be.

And þus schal non in hevene come 195

Bote he beo mon and Godus sone.

Elye i-ravischt he was

In-to þe eir, þorwh Godus gras,

And not only in-to þe eir,

Bot in-to hevene, god and feir. 200

And þer-as Moyses wip his 3erde

A-reisede þe serpent in deserte,

183 whuche] B w3uche 184 Monkynde heer] B Monkuynde
her 185 comynge] B comyng 186 redempcion] B redempcioun
191 brou3t] B brouht 192 for us soffrede] B soffrede for
us 194 goode] B gode 197 i-ravischt] A i-ravisch 199
eir] B eyr 200 god] B good 201 3erde] B 3ert 202 des-
erte] B desert

So hit bi-hoveþ, I telle þe,
 Monnes sone reised to be,
 And alle þat wollep leeven in himme 205
 þei schul not perissche in no synne,
 But wip-uten ende þei schul have
 þe lyf þat schal hem ever save.
 þer weore children of Israel
 þat lyvede not in hem-self wel, 210
 And in wilderness þei wore
 And ofte neddres smiten hem sore.
 þorwh þat smityng, I telle þe,
 þer di3eden of hem gret plente.
 And bi counsel sone a-non 215
 Lyk to a neddre Moyses made on,
 And heng hit uppon his 3erde
 Whodurward so ever he ferde.
 He rered up his 3erde þat tyme,
 And hose weore smite wip neddres pine, 220
 Hem neodet not elles forte do
 Bote loke Moyses 3erde unto,
 And bi þe siht of þat serpent
 þat aboute þe 3erde was went,
 þei hedden hele everichon-- 225
 Child, wyf, maide, and mon.

204 reised] B reysed 205 himme] B hym 206 perissche]
 B perische synne] B syn 210 lyvede] B livede 213 smi-
 tyng] B smytyng 214 di3eden] B dyede 215 counsel] B
 counseil 217 And heng] B And he henge 220 smite] B smi-
 ten pine] B pyne 225 hedden] A hedde 226 maide] B mayden

þis ilke 3erde, I telle þe,
 Signefyep þe rode tre;
 And þat ilke same serpens
 Was Crist, þat for us made defens. 230

þe neddre þat wounden was on þe 3arde
 On þe cros was he nayled harde.
 And hose wip þe devel is smiten
 (And slayn wip synne, þat is to wyten),
 Let him go seo þe 3erde a-non, 235
 And þe neddre þer-uppon.

Let him þenke on þe rode tre,
 Hou his Lord bouhte him fre.
 Anon þat he him go schrive:
 þen is he risen from dep to lyve. 240

And þenne þat neddre þat smot him so
 Schal have muche serwe and wo--
 þat is, þe devel, þat schal to pyne
 More þen he ever was inne.
 And hose wol do þis ilke þing, 245

þar him not drede þe develes byting:
 Ffor Crist him schal deliveren ay
 And saven him, so wel he may,
 He us bringe to þat blis
 þat for goode men ordeyned is. Amen. 250

228 Signefyep] B Signifieþ 231 3arde] B 3erde 232 cros]
 B crois 234 synne] B sunne wyten] B witen 237 tre] B treo
 238 him fre] B hym freo 240 risen] B rise 244 ever] B
 evere 246 him] B hym byting] B bityng 247 him] B hym
 deliveren] B dilyveren

33. A Stanza of Fortunatus

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Th. d. 1, fol. 168^r. Between 1430 and 1436.

Arbor decora et fulgida,
ornata regis purpura,
electa digno stipite &c.

þe Tree of þe cros is wol bry3te,

With kyngis purpur it is a-dy3te.

Chosyn þu art a worthy tree,

Qwan so holy lemys towchedyn pee!

34. Christ's Seven Torments

Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS. T. C. D. 277, p. 188. 15th century [D].

Oxford, Magdalen College Library, MS. Magd. Coll. 93, fol. 153^v. 15th century [O].

Ista sunt septem signa per quae possum cognoscere
qui languet amore, et omnia ista signa hodie in
Christo fuerunt inventa Illud probat man-
ifeste et ostendit septem tormenta dolorosa quae
sustinuit pro amore nostra Ergo Christus
potest dicere Amore langueo &c. Et fuerunt:

Blode swetyng,

Herd byndyng,

Grete travelyng,

Smert betyng,

Long walyng,

The crosse beryng,

Sharp probyng.

5

No. 34. 2 Herd] D hard 3 Grete] D gret 6 The] Lacking
in D 7] D and Scharp prykyng

35a. The Seven
Sheddings of Christ's Blood

Cambridge, St. John's College Library, MS.
L 10, ff. 33^r-38^v. 15th century.

Ihesu, ffor pyn precius blode

þat thow schedest for owre gode

At pyn cyrcumsicion:

Off the, swete Ihesu, I cry mercy

And chast my lechorus body,

5

And kepe me from damnacion.

Ihesu, ffor pyne dropys swete

þat þow swettest on Olyvete

Owte of pyn fayre face:

Ne late me nevere in wrat falle,

10

Bote love myne eme Cristen alle

Owre Lord God gyffe me grace.

Ihesu, ffor pyn bloody dropys

Bothe with scorgys & eke with ropys

Made ham ronne a-downe:

15

Frede me so with mete & drynke

þat nevere more I hyt a-thynke:

Have mercy on me, gloten.

Ihesu, for thyn bloody hevede

That with thornes were be-wevyde,

20

And lange, scharpe & kene:

Chast me þat am so wylde,
 And make my hert bothe meke & mylde
 To be þyn servaunt clene.

Ihesu, for þyn bloody hondys, 25
 The blode þat ranne owt of þyn woundis
 Whan þe nayles þorow hem drowe:
 Ffro concytys kepe me þowe,
 More þan me nedyt sende me nau3t
 The whyle þat I schal love. 30

Ihesu, for þyn woundys smerte,
 The blode þat ranne fro þyn herte
 With water mengyd to-gedere:
 Make me stedfast in charyte
 And to heven þow brynge me, 35
 And brynge us alle dedyr.

Ihesu, for þy blode so swete,
 That ranne oute of þyn fete
 Ffor synfull man ys sake:
 Gyff me grace soche workys to worche, 40
 To love Ihesu & holy chyrche,
 And to Ihesu Crist me take.

35b. The Hours of the Cross

Ihesu, at morow as þow were take
 Off kythe, of kynne sone for-sake,
 In peynys lefte a-lone: [45]
 Graunt me with gode devocion
 Hertly to honore þyn passioune 5
 And graciously here my bone.

Ihesu, at prime as þow were brou3t
 To-fore Pylate wyckyd of thou3t, [50]
 And a-cusyd with false sawys:
 Brynge myn hert owt of covoteys, 10
 And stabile yt in þyn service,
 Holy to holde þyn lawys.

Ihesu, at underne as þu were crownyd with thorn, [55]
 And up-on þe cros naylyd & up i-borne
 Hey up-on þe mounte Calvare: 15
 Schelde me to-day from al wycked scham,
 And eke fro tonges of gnoff fame,
 And from al wyckyd company. [60]

Ihesu, as þow were at mydday in hast
 I-naylyd to þe cros ry3t faste, 20
 And dranke aysyll & galle:
 Glade me at my endyng day,
 And helpe me as þow well may [65]
 A-geynste þe fendes alle.

Ihesu, at none as þow well woste, 25
 To the Fader þow gaf the goste
 On the cros hangynge:
 Gyff me grace myn soule to be teche [70]
 To the þat arte alle sowlis leche
 Also at myn endynge. 30

Ihesu, at even whan þow hynge hye,
 Than cam Josep of Barmathy
 And toke þe downe of þe cros: [75]
 Graunt me þat þy passyone
 Be my schelde & my protectione 35
 A-3eynste the ffende ys voysse.

Ihesu, at complyn as þu were alone
 I-leyde in a grave of stone [80]
 And kepte with kny3ttes stowte:
 Whan I schal dye & passyn henne, 40
 Be myn comforte & kepe me þenne
 Fro þe fendes rowte.

Ihesu, as þow hast made þe world of nou3t, [85]
 And with þyn passyoun us dere bou3t
 Ffro combrauns of the fende: 45
 Be þy passyon graunt us grace
 In heven blys to have a place,
 And joy with-outten ende. [90]

36. A Fragment on the Passion

Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS. Trin.
Coll. 1157, fol. 74^v. 15th century.

. . . thely lokys

. . . yone Bokys.

. . . in torne clothis

. .[t]hat many men hym lothis

. . . knoked ful small

5

. . . syd no thyng at all

. .[t]o hang upon the rode

. . . dreynt at the last flode

. . . s many men doth fynde

. . . h fer be-hynde.

10

37. To Staunche Blode

Manchester, John Rylands Library, MS. Latin
228, fol. 74^r. Late 15th century.

Lord, as thou hange upon þe rode,
In al thy sor[we], staunche þe blode.
The fadir & the son & the holy gaste,
Staunche þe blode sone in hast.
That ilke forbote, I diffende þat oper.
Lord, layd by-twix the watr & the lande,
Staunche þe blode styll to stande,
In goddis name. Fyve pater noster.
Fyve aves. A credo.

5

2 sorwe] MS sor... [a blot obscures the last letters]
2,4,7 þe] MS this cancelled between staunche and blode,
with a sign inserted in each case above the line 4 hast]
A slanted line follows this word in the MS

38. The Hours of the Cross

Cambridge, University Library, MS. Additional
4120 (H), ff. 50^r-55^r.

He that ys the great profounde sapience,
And dyvyne truethe of the Father on hye,
Whiche for mankynde of hys benyvolence
Hyme selfe hathe made bothe God and man veryly,
Was solde and bought by the Jewes trayterously, 5
And aboute myd nyght perturbed and taken,
And of hys disciples anone forsaken.

The fyrst houre in the mornynge early,
Jesus was broughte by the handes of Jewes
Before the judge Pylate, to be judged cruelly, 10
Where many a false wytnesse dyd hym accuse.
In the necke they hym smyte, handes the bandes dyd
bruse;
They spyt and defyled there godly face,
The lyght of heaven replete with all grace.

Aboute thre houres after the sunne gan sprynge, 15
All the Jewes cryed Jesus to crucifye,
And in skorne they hym clothed withe purple clothynge
And in stede of a crowne, one his hed they dyd tye
A crowne of thorne that prycked cruelly,
And had hym forth to a place where he dyed, 20
And with a howge crosse on his shoulders layde.

The syxte houre spryngynge before the myd daye,
 Jhesus hande and fote to the crosse they nayled.
 With the shamfullest death that they contriue maye,
 They honge hym bytwene two theves that the bloude
 downe trayled, 25
 And than for payne great, thurste hyme assayled.
 Hys thurste for to quenche, they profered hym gall:
 This lambe so illuded, bought our synnes all.

Our mercyfull Lorde Jhesus, Goddes sonne,
 Callynge unto hys Father almyghtye, 30
 Yelded up hys soule, and full upon none,
 The spirite departed frome that blessed body.
 The sunne waxed darke, the earth quake wondersly,
 Great merveyulous thynges to beholde and heare,
 And yet a knyght perced hys hert with a speare. 35

We worshyp the, Christe, with prayse and benediction,
 For thou redemest þe worlde by thy holy passion.

[Oratio]

Lorde Jhesu Christe, sonne of the lyvyng God, set
 thy holy passion and deth betwenne thy judgement and
 oure soules, bothe nowe and at the hour of death, and
 moreover vouchesaufe to graunte unto the lyvyng mercy
 and grace, to the deed pardon and rest, to the holye
 Church peace and concorde, and to us pore synners

35 knyght] MS kynght with] MS wiht

lyfe and joye everlastynge, whiche lyvest and reulest
God with the Father, and the Holy Gooste, worlde wythout
ende. So be [it].

The gloriouse passion of oure Lorde Jesu Christ,
delyver us from ferefull hevynes, and bringe us to
the joyes of paradyse. So be yt.

39. A Litany of the
Blessed Virgin by Christ's Blood

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg. e.
 17, ff. 13^v-14^r.

Ladi quene, y pray the
 To governe me in gode lore,
 And have þu mercy on me
 Aftur my deth and als byfore;
 And graunt me grace for to se
 Thy sonne þat thow hast lore,
 There he ys kyng and Lord fre,
 In blisse for ever more.

5

For thy mercy ys so gode
 And wythoute variaunce founde,
 Thy swete Son wolde on the rode
 Wyth scharpfull thornes be crownde;
 There he schedde his hert blode
 Un-to the crosse when he was bownde;
 He tholed the Jewys wyth mylde mode
 Wyth tormentys cruel hym to wounde.

10

15

Thus he schedde his swete blode
 For oure synnes, not for his gylt;
 When he asked drynke nayled to the rode,
 Full byttur drynkes to hym þei fylt.
 From hym there ranne a wondur flode,
 His membris whiles þei al to-thrylt;
 Lord, ful mylde was his mode

20

To suffre hym-self þus to be spylt!

As for the fyrst synne, lechery, 25

When he was circumcysed;

For pride þei crowned hym spytously:

The Jewys were mysse avysed.

And for þe thridde synne, gloteny,

Of eysell and galle he suffysed; 30

The fourth for averyce certanly

With nayles his handis þei al to-brysed.

For accidy, þe fift syn,

His feet thorgh-oute were rent;

For Envy, þe syxt synne, 35

His hert was al to-schent,

And for Ire, the seveth synne,

To suffre al þys has he ment.

Lady, wyssche us heven to wynne,

And to þi Son thow us present. Amen. 40

Gloria sanctorum, decus angelorum, ave Maria.

Visita tuorum mentes famulorum, dulcis Maria.

O fons bonitatis, nostræ paupertatis sis memor, Maria.

Sordes foeditatis, aestus voluptatis, dilue Maria.

Nobis Evæ natus, signum pietatis aperi, Maria.

Ne nos pro peccatis simus cum dampnatis, succurre Maria.

Ave Maria.

Litania Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ.

Explicit Litania] MS Letania

40. Two Fragments on Christ's Passion

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College Library,
MS. Caius 804 (a fragment on vellum).

[A]

.
For us he nailed was

Upon the cros duryng his passioun.

Eke in .iiij. maners, who so can take hede

Crist in his chosen, bi good inspeccioun,

Here in this worlde, with-uten any drede,

5

Al new he suffreth circumcisioun.

The furst is made bi fals detraxioun,

That kutteth away both frende & fame,

And the schynnyng of his good name.

The secounde is bi fals tyrannye

10

Of suche that have no conscience at all,

But taken away bi cursed robbrie

.

[B]

.

The rede bloode which al his body wette.

The thridde tyme his bloode moost vertuous

Gan renne out bi many a cruel wounde,

A3 In margin ca^m .iiij. [=capitulum tertium] A5 worlde]
MS wolrde with] MS w^t

Whane that he was, this king moost gracyous,
Of the Jewes to a piler fast y-bounde.

5

The fourthe tyme eke, as it is founde,
He spende his bloode for oure alther goode
Whane he was nayled upon the rode.

And altherlast whane Longeus a-fer
Thurgh his herte playnli as Y fynde,
On Calvarie him periched with a sper
That bloode un.

10

41. The Virtues of the Cross

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS.
18. 7. 21, fol. 40^v.

Crux est: A barge to beren fro depe groundes,
A targe to weren fro detly woundis,
A falle to taken in þe fend,
& an halle to glapan in a frend.

Notes

The notes which follow are intended to supply general information about the dates and provenance of the MSS; to identify sources, particularly Biblical sources; and to assist interpretation by occasional reference to related medieval and secondary material. Latin words which do not appear in Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, are glossed in the notes, as are Middle English words which do not appear in the Third Edition of the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary. Where readings are uncertain, or where I have been unable to establish a meaning for a reading, a note explains the question. Biblical citations throughout are from the Clementine edition of the Latin Vulgate.

1. The Old and New Laws

This text is No. 8349 in Hans Walther's Initia carminum ac versuum medii aevi posterioris latinorum: Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, I (Göttingen, 1959). The poem is repeated twice in the MS and the second copy is followed by a short prayer:

Exaudi, Domine; placare, Domine; adtende, Domine et fac memoreris propter temet ipsum, Domine Deus meus. Domine Jhesu Christe, gloriosissime conditor mundi, qui cum sis splendor gloriae coaeternus Patri Sanctoque Spiritui, ideo dignatus es carnem ex immaculata Virgine Amen Amen fieri. Femina nulla bona et si bona congrigit ulla. Nescio quo fato res in [breaks off]

Ad Domine Deus noster [sic]

1. semel ablato] Cf. Hebr. 9.28.
cursum] Cf. 2 Reg. 18.27.
3. sol venit ad ortum] Cf. Job 24.17; Cant. 6.9.
5. vota] Cf. inter alia Lev. 7.23-34; Num. 18.17.
6. Figures for Christ, here applied to the cross.
8. ephod] Cf. Exod. 25.7: part of the clothing of the Hebrew priest--here used metonymically to refer to the Synagogue and the Old Law.
- unctio] The holy oil of the priesthood of Aaron described in Exod. 29.7, 29.21 ("Cumque tuleris de sanguine qui est super altare, et de oleo unctionis, asperges Aaron et vestes ejus, filios et vestimenta eorum"), Levit. 21.10-12, and elsewhere.
9. All animals offered under the Jewish law for specific sacrificial purposes: the fat of calves and male goats for the sins of the people (Levit. 4.8, 16.15-22); sheep for unblemished oblations and peace offerings (Levit. 3.6); sparrows for the cleansing of lepers (Levit. 14.1-7).
11. ovi] Christ.

2. Traveller, Stay

Walther, Initia, No. 8116. The copy in the Bern MS has been added in a later hand; the Wrocław text is inserted without individual notice in what appears to be a

poetical miscellany.

2. risus] Cf. Prov. 14.13: "Risus dolore miscebitur, / et extrema gaudii luctus occupat."
Also Jacob. 4.9: "Risus vester in luctum convertatur."

4. inerte] The reading is uncertain; in the MS are three minims followed by ete. As read, the passage is addressed to the "traveller," or reader.

summa] Reading uncertain: MS su. It would be tempting to read secundum mensuram on the analogy of several Biblical passages (e.g. Ezech. 40.21-22; 2 Cor. 10.13; Ephes. 4.7), but mensura is clearly the MS reading, and the abbreviation preceding it will bear either construction.

5. Amare] For amari.

3. A Prayer to the Crucified Christ

Walther, Initia, No. 8872. Our text has been added at the beginning of a manuscript containing the Dialogi of St. Gregory the Great and St. Augustine's Regula; there is a musical setting accompanying the words. See C. Halm and G. Laubmann, Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, 2d ed. (Munich, 1892-1894), II.2.80.

4. De XII crucibus
quibus insignentur corpora in nocte

Walther, Initia, No. 1751. Our text is inserted at the end of a prose Inventio crucis (BHL 4169) of the twelfth century. The MS is "perhaps from a Benedictine abbey" (P. Lauer et. al., Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, II (1940) 125-126). The poem's inspiration may be found in the final lines of the Inventio which precedes it: "Quicumque vero memoriam faciunt crucis Christi accipuerint partem cum sanctis et electis Dei, et regnabunt cum Christo in saecula saeculorum. Amen."

6. rex nasus] The Glossa ordinaria commentary on Cant. 7.4 says, "Nasus. Cautissimi discretiores boni et mali, sicut et per nares odor vel fetor discernitur, quos nulla fallit hypocrisis, et eminentissimum tenent locum"(PL 113.1162). None of the writers in R. Foerster, Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini (Leipzig, 1893) makes mention of the nose's regality.

9. pectoris . . . arcam] The idea of the breast as the seat of wisdom is common in classical authors, e.g., Quintilian, Inst. Orat. 10.7.15 (Loeb ed. IV.140): "Pectus est enim, quod disertos facit, et vis mentis"; Cicero, De orat. 3.30 (Loeb ed. II.94): "Non enim solum acuenda nobis neque procudenda lingua est, sed onerandum complendumque pectus maximarum rerum et plur-

imarum suavitate, copia, varietate."

Following the text is a partially versified postscript in another, larger hand, suggesting a prayer to accompany the crucesignations:

Qui facit has cruces hos versus dicere debet:

"Crux tua, Christe, mihi protectio fiat ab hoste,

[Tu]a caro sacra dicat profuso sanguine poste."

5. Tractatus de laude crucis

Walther, Initia, No. 436. This poem exists in another 13th-century copy in the British Museum, MS. Royal 2. A. ix, ff. 36^r-47^r, where it is followed by another metrical psalter of the cross, of 600 lines (Digni regis digna militia), which is printed in AH, 35.11-25. I have not been able to compare the full British Museum text with the text here edited: the first 24 lines are identical, however, and the British Museum text lacks rubrics. It should be noted that the St. John's College text is more than twice the length of the British Museum text (1068 lines as compared with 504--see G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections (London, 1921), I.29). The medieval punctuation has been retained in the present edition. For the date and contents of the MS see H. O. Coxe, Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur (Oxford, 1853), II.6.35.

1. signaculum] Cf. Cant. 8.6: "Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum, / ut signaculum super brachium tuum"
6. cordis oculum] Cf. Ephes. 1.18.
10. pretium] Cf. 1 Cor. 6.20, 7.23.
12. novo . . . foedere] Matt. 26.28; Marc. 14.24; Luc. 22.20.
23. dux . . . gressuum] Cf. Ps. 36.23, 39.3; Prov. 20.24; Hebr. 12.13.
31. vestigia] Cf. 1 Petr. 2.21.
32. gaudia] Cf. Luc. 15.7, 15.10.
33. gloria] Cf. Gal. 6.14: "Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi"
41. Ante luciferum] Ps. 109.3: "Ex utero ante luciferum genui te"
42. gemitus] Cf. Act. 7.34; Judic. 2.18: "Audiebat afflictorum gemitus, et liberabat."
45. In sole] Ps. 18.6: "In sole posuit tabernaculum suum."
- 49-50. Isai. 11.1: "Et egredietur virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet."
54. Reclinatorium] Cf. Cant. 3.10.
57. semitas] Ps. 118.105: "Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, et lumen semitis meis."
58. caecitas] Cf. Rom. 11.25; Ephes. 4.18.
65. pulverem] Gen. 3.19.
66. Adam veterem] The figure is Pauline: Cf. 1 Cor.

15.45.

72/73. corvus] Gen. 8.6-12.

74. Ramus] Cf. Gen. 8.11.

77. Columba] Matt. 3.16; Marc. 1.10; Joan. 1.32.

84. foedera] Cf. 3 Reg. 8.21; 1 Par. 15.28, 16.6.

86. Judaea] Cf. Gen. 8.6-7 and the interpretation of the Glossa ordinaria thereupon. The poet's associative method may be glimpsed here: corvus in line 85 (=Judaei) suggests columba (the other bird sent forth by Noah from the ark, the Holy Spirit), whence the transition from the flood to the Annunciation.

89-92. Luc. 1.26-38.

104. mansio] Cf. Joan. 14.23.

110. solio] Cf. Prov. 20.8.

117. virga] Num. 17.8-12. A common type of the cross.

123. lilio] Cf. Cant. 2.1; Matt. 6.28; Luc. 12.27.

133. Vellus] Cf. Judic. 6.37.

134. rubus] Exod. 3.2-4; Act. 7.30-35.

135. fiscella] Exod. 2.3.

151. impassibili naturae] Peter Lombard, commenting

Phil. 2.8-9: "Aperte dicit Apostolus, Christum propterea exaltatum per impassibilitatis gloriam, quia est humiliatus per passionis obedientiam; humilitas ergo passionis meritum fuit exaltationis, et exaltatio praemium humilitatis." (Sent., 3.18.1; Quaracchi ed. II.628-629)

- 165 ff. Luc. 2.8-20.
176. diversorio] Luc. 2.7.
191. circumcisio] Luc. 2.21; cf. Rom. 2.28-29; 1 Cor. 7.19 ff.
201. artibus] Matt. 2.1-12.
217. tripharia . . . claritas] The threefold meaning of the gifts of the Magi given here is in agreement with interpretations from the early as well as from the late Middle Ages. Cf. Juvenius, Evang., 1.249-251: ". . . tum munera trina / Tus, aurum, murram regique hominique Deoque / Dona dabant" (CSEL 24.16); Glossa ordinaria on Matt. 2.11: "Per haec tria in eodem Christo intimantur, regia potestas, divina majestas, humana mortalitas" (PL 114.75).
229. Sol] Sol=Christus, the sol justitiae of Mal. 4.2. The passage denotes literally the Flight into Egypt, Matt. 2.13-15.
- 231.. Matt. 2.16. The slaughter of the Holy Innocents.
- 240/241. Praesentatione Domini] Luc. 2.22-39.
253. senis] Simeon--cf. Luc. 2.28.
265. lampas sub modio] Matt. 5.15; Marc. 4.21; Luc. 11.33.
282. nuptias] The marriage at Cana--Joan. 2.1-11.
289. Ancillam eicit Sara] Gen. 21.10.
- 300/301. De baptismo . . . Jordane] Matt. 3.13-17; Marc. 1.9-11; Luc. 3.21-22.

309. ignita rhomphaea] Gen. 3.24.
- 320/321. jejunio Christi] Matt. 4.1-2; Marc. 1.12-13;
Luc. 4.1-13.
340. vicit fortius] Cf. Matt. 12.29; Marc. 3.27.
353. Luc. 2.46-47.
357. caecitas] Matt. 9.27-31, 20.30-34; Marc. 8.22-
26, 10.49-52; Luc. 7.21; Joan. 9.1-7.
358. Leprae deformitas] Matt. 8.2-4; Marc. 1.40-43;
Luc. 5.12-14.
359. Linguae facilitas] Matt. 9.32-33; Marc. 7.32-
37; 9.16-25; Luc. 11.14.
360. Surdis . . . sospitas] Matt. 11.5; Marc. 7.32-
37; Luc. 7.22.
361. imundi spiritus] Marc. 1.23-26, 5.2-20, 7.25-
29, 9.16-25; Luc. 4.33-35.
367. Febres] Matt. 8.15; Marc. 1.31; Luc. 4.39;
Joan. 4.52.
- respirant aridi] Matt. 12.10; Marc. 3.1-5; Luc.
6.6-8; Joan. 5.3.
369. septem panibus] Matt. 15.36; Marc. 8.5-9. Cf.
Luc. 9.16-17.
373. stant fluxus menstrui] Matt. 9.20-22; Marc. 5.
25-29; Luc. 8.43-44.
374. tres surgunt mortui] The daughter of Jairus,
Matt. 9.25, Marc. 5.41-42, and Luc. 8.54-55;
the son of the Capharnaean widow, Luc. 7.15;
and Lazarus, Joan. 11.43-44.

382. Patris gremio] Cf. Gen. 48.12: "Cumque tulisset eos Joseph de gremio patris, adoravit pronus in terram."
385. similes] Gen. 1.26, 5.1-3.
397. Carnis velamine] Cf. Hebr. 10.19-20: "Habentes itaque, fratres, fiduciam in introitu sanctorum in sanguine Christi, quam initiavit nobis viam novam et viventem per velamen, id est, carnem suam"
405. dampni dispendia] Cf. Prov. 27.12: "Parvuli transeuntes sustinuerunt dispendia."
416. osculo] Matt. 26.48-49; Marc. 14.44-45; Luc. 22. 47-48.
419. cognitor] Cf. Dan. 13.42: "Deus aeterne, qui absconditorum es cognitor"
430. cupiditas] Cf. 1 Tim. 6.10: "Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas"
436. Rectas . . . semitas] Ps. 26.11; Isai. 26.7; Matt. 3.3; Marc. 1.3; Luc. 3.4.
445. radice] Cf. line 430, note.
493. pungit aculeus] Cf. Apoc. 9.10.
510. Matt. 27.5.
513. laqueum] Matt. 27.5.
521. geminae mortis] The idea of the twofold death--the death of the body and the death of the spirit figured therein--is Augustinian: "Nos certe, quod nemo christianus ambigit, et anima

et corpore mortui sumus: anima, propter peccatum; corpore, propter poenam peccati, ac per hoc et corpore propter peccatum" (De Trin., 4.3.5; PL 42.890).

532. in medio] Matt. 27.38; Marc. 15.27; Luc. 23.33; Joan. 19.18.

545-548. The Glossa quotes St. Jerome in its commentary on the passage from St. Mark's gospel cited immediately above: "Cum iniquis veritas deputata unum relinquit sinistrum, alterum assumit dextrum; sic faciet in die iudicii, ex simili crimine dissimiles sortiuntur vias. Alter praecedit Petrum in paradysum, alter Judam in infernum. Confessio brevis vitam acquirit longam, et blasphema finita poena plectitur aeterna." (PL 114.238)

546. diudicant] Diudicare does not occur in the lexicons as a synonym for judicare, though that this is the meaning is clear from St. Augustine's use of the word in In Joannis Evangelium (CCSL 36.647): "Profunda [crucis] est in ea parte qua in terra figitur; ibi quippe et occulta est, nec uideri potest, sed cuncta eius apparentia et eminentia inde consurgunt, sicut bona nostra de profunditate gratiae Dei, quae comprehendi ac diudicari non potest, uniuersa procedunt."

563. clementia] Cf. Prov. 20.28: "Roboratur clementia thronus ejus."
589. figulum] Cf. Sap. 15.7.
610. commercium, taxatio] Mercantile and monetary metaphors are common in patristic and medieval discussions of redemption--as that word itself signals. Cf. L. Richard, Le mystère de la Rédemption, Bibliothèque de Théologie, Série I: Théologie Dogmatique, I (Tournai, 1959), pp. 59, 102, 107-8.
- 613-616. fortem superat] Matt. 12.29; Marc. 3.27;
 Luc. 11.21-22: "Cum fortis armatus custodit atrium suum, in pace sunt ea quae possidet. Si autem fortior eo superveniens vicerit eum, universa arma ejus auferet, in quibus confidebat, et spolia ejus distribuet." The strong man is universally interpreted as Satan.
616. Foras eicitur . . . princeps] Satan, the princeps huius mundi: "Nunc iudicium est mundi; nunc princeps hujus mundi ejicietur foras" (Joan. 12.31).
- 625-628. Gen. 4.4-8.
629. vagus eicitur] Gen. 4.9-16.
- 633-636. Gen. 22.1-18.
640. In spinis veprium] Gen. 22.13.
641. Joseph . . . crescens] Gen. 37.3.
- 649-650. In arto] Gen. 37.22, 24, 28.

653. mystica jam pugna] 2 Reg. 13.38.
654. persequitur] 2 Reg. 17.1.
659. palmite] Cf. Num. 13.24; Joan. 15.6: "Ego sum
vitis, vos palmites . . ." Cf. also Isidore,
Etymol. 17.5.14.
661. heres occiditur] Matt. 21.38-39.
662. ficulneam] Cf. Matt. 21.19-21. See line 666n.
663. Sanson ingreditur] Judic. 14.1 ff.
666. ficulnea quae maledicatur] Matt. 21.19-21. Part
of the commentary of the Glossa on the passage
proceeds: "Et videntes. Passurus Dominus et
scandalum crucis portaturus discipulorum animos
debuit signi anticipatione signare, unde et
mirabantur, quod ficus aruit: potuit eadem
virtute inimicos siccare nisi per patientiam
eorum exspectasset salutem" (PL 114.154).
667. in horrea] Matt. 3.12, 13. 30; Luc. 3.17.
679. viaticum] Cf. Deut. 15.14: "Sed dabis viaticum
de gregibus, et de area, et torculari tuo . . ."
- 681-682. Sol . . . saeculo] Matt. 27.45; Marc. 15.33;
Luc. 23.44-45.
686. discipulo] St. John: Joan. 19.26.
696. gladius] The Sword of Simeon: Luc. 2.34-35. See
text 6, line 33n.
710. exemplum veniae] Luc. 23.40-43.
714. sitiens] Joan. 19.28.

717. gens lapidea] The Jews (cf. cor lapideum--Ezech. 11.19, 36.26).
- domus exasperans] Ezech. 2.5-6: ". . . domus exasperans est, et scient quia propheta fuerit in medio eorum. Tu ergo, fili hominis, ne timeas eos . . . quia domus exasperans est." Cf. Ezech. 3.9, 3.26-27, 12.2-9.
719. labruscas] Cf. Isai. 5.2-4 and 17.11: "In die plantationis tuae labrusca, / et mane semen tuum florebit; / ablata est messis in die hereditatis, / et dolebit graviter."
721. cum felle] Matt. 27.34.
- 729/730. vestis purpurea] Marc. 15.17-20; Luc. 16.19; Joan. 19.2-5.
- corona spinea] Matt. 27.29; Marc. 14.17; Joan. 19.2-5.
731. macerias] Cf. Ps. 61.4; Ephes. 2.14.
753. hostis] This figure is most common in the Epistle to the Hebrews--cf. Hebr. 7-11, esp. chapter 10.
761. Mors simpla] This and the following point about the relation between the Word and the soul of Christ are treated systematically, mostly by reference to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, by Lombard, Sent. 3.21.1-3.22.2 (Quaracchi ed. II. 644-652).
773. Sol nube tegitur] Cf. Ezech. 32.7: ". . . solem nube tegam, / et luna non dabit lumen suum."
777. terra contremuit] Matt. 27.41.

785. lancea] Joan. 19.34.

792/793. Ecclesiae] Throughout the passage following typologies of the Church are mixed with those of the cross.

797. arca foederis] Cf. inter alia Exod. 25.10-40.
tabernaculum] Cf. inter alia Exod. 26.1-37 passim.

798. dux itineris] Exod. 13.21.

799. ferculum] Cf. Cant. 3.9: "Ferculum fecit sibi
rex Salomon / de lignis Libani"

801. turris] Perhaps the temple of 2 Reg. 7 and 1 Par.
17. Cf. Cant. 4.4: "Sicut turris David
collum tuum"

803. scala] Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28.12-13), one of the earliest and most widespread types of the cross. It occurs in Justin's Dialogue With Trypho, 86 (ANF 1.242); Melito, Homil. Pasch. 1 (SC 27.177); Irenaeus, Demonstratio de praedicatione apostolica 45 (SC 62.104); Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 87 (CCSL 103.348-359), to name some early examples.

805. propugnacula &c] Cant. 4.4: "Sicut turris David
collum tuum, / quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis: / mille clypei pendent ex ea, / omnis armatura fortium."

807. serpentis aenei] Num. 21.8-9; Joan. 3.14. This figure too is among the earliest types of the cross: Barnabas, Epistle 12 (Hilgenfeld ed.

pp. 65-66: "Ipse [Moyses] fecit serpentem aereum, ut figuram Iesu ostenderet, et posuit in cruce et per praecones convocavit populum"); Justin, Apol. 1, 60 (ANF 1.183a), Dial., 94.1 (ANF 1.246b) and 91 (ANF 1.245a); Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, 10 (PL 2.667-668, CSEL 70.305), Adv. Marcionem, 3.18 (PL 2.375, CSEL 47.407); Prudentius, Dittochaei [Tituli historiarum], 12 (CSEL 61.437); Caesarius, Sermo 112 (CCSL 103.462, 464).

- 823. litteram] Cf. Rom. 7.6; 2 Cor. 3.6.
- 827. noluit] Matt. 27.40-42; Marc. 15.30-32.
- 837. Veli divisio] Matt. 27.51; Marc. 15.38; Luc. 23.45.
- 845. principe] See 1. 616n.
- 854. Debbora] Judic. 4.4-21.
- 857. Natat in fluvio] The reference here is to Eliseus's raising of the ax-head which had been lost in the Jordan River: "Praecidit ergo lignum, et misit illuc; natavitque ferrum" (4 Reg. 6. 5-6). Eliseus's lignum was early seen as a type of Christ's cross: Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF 1.242b); Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, 13 (PL 2.676, CSEL 70.319-320); Irenaeus, Adv. haereses, 5. 17.4 (PG 7.1171)--tr. into Latin "before 396" (B. Altaner, Patrologie, 5th ed. (Freiburg i. B., 1958), p. 119); Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 112 (CCSL 103.464).

861. veste mystica] Gen. 37.3 (veste=tunica polymita).
865. in humeris Jhesus] Joan. 19.17. The gospel harmonies explain this passage, which is at variance with the testimony of the synoptic Evangelists (Matt. 27.32; Marc. 15.21; Luc. 23.26), by having Christ bear the cross part way to Calvary, and Simon the Cyrene the rest of the way; from which a moral lesson may be drawn: "Primo Dominus crucem portat, quia prior passus est; postea imposita est Simoni Cyrenaeo, quia debemus sequi vestigia" (Glossa on Joan. 19.17; PL 114.121).
870. angaria] Cf. Matt. 27.32; Marc. 15.21; Luc. 23.26.
876. tituli] Matt. 27.37; Marc. 15.26; Luc. 23.38;
Joan. 19.19.
884. mundi confinia] This passage suggests the "cosmological" cross which descends from Greek exegesis of Ephes. 3.18 as the four arms of an infinite rood, encompassing the world. The earliest and most complete poem in the tradition is the pseudo-Cyprian De Pascha, discussed and placed in context by E. S. Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," Traditio, X (1954), 323-371.
- 885-888. The actions described in this stanza are very similar to those performed by the animate extremities of the "living crosses" of later medieval painting, in which the superior arm opens the Kingdom of

Heaven, the left discomfits Synagoga while the right crowns Ecclesia, and the inferior raises Adam and the Patriarchs from bondage to Satan. See R. L. Füglistner, Das Lebende Kreuz (Einsiedeln, Zürich, Köln, 1964), for the iconography and, for a history of the exegesis of Eph. 3.18, Appendix 8 of Otto Zöckler, Das Kreuz Christi (Gütersloh, 1875).

897. caesaries] Cf. Num. 6.5: "Sanctus erit, crescente caesarie capitis ejus."
899. decor] Cf. Isai. 53.2: from the famous description of the Suffering Servant.
901. arescens vineae] Cf. Joan. 15.1-7.
904. fructus ficulneae] Luc. 13.7.
907. jugi ferrei] Cf. Deut. 28.48; Ecclus. 28.24; Jerem. 28.14.
- 916/917. postibus et superliminaribus] Exod. 12.7-23.

Two points made by the poet are borrowed from St. Gregory's Homilia 22 in Evang., 7 (PL 76. 1178), where the two passages from Exodus and Numbers cited above are invoked. Lines 921-924 owe their interpretations to the following passage: "Qui ergo intentionem cogitationis suae ad imitationem dominicae passionis dirigit, in superliminari domus agni sanguinem ponit Et in superliminari domus agni sanguinem ponimus,

quia crucem passionis illius in fronte portamus." The passage is quoted in the Glossa, PL 113.218.

918. mundi vespera] That is, at the end of the ages of the Old Law: "Post lapsum enim hominis et decreto Dei naturaliter regitur illa aetas, non ad aeterna, sed ad ista temporalia appetenda si mulcent, vitanda si offendunt" (quoted from Augustine by the Glossa, PL 114.373).
921. tau] Associated with the cross by its shape and numerology: see H. Rahner, "Antenna Crucis, V: Das mystische Tau," ZkTh, LXXV (1953), 385-410. The first Christian author to interpret the letter in terms of the cross was the apostolic Oriental author of the Epistle attributed to Barnabas (ca. 100 A.D.); he was followed by Clement of Alexandria (Stromata VI.9.84) and St. Augustine, Sermo 96, 6. See J. Rivière, "Trois cent dix-huit," Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, VI (1934), 349-367.
931. formidine] Cf. Ps. 54.3.
933. praevia columna] Exod. 13.21-22; Num. 14.14.
942. diluvium] Gen. 6-8.
958. spina suitur] Matt. 27.29; Marc. 15.17; Joan. 19.2.
962. Arcus . . . foederis] Gen. 9.12-17.
963. virga] Isai. 11.1. A type of the cross from the earliest times: Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF 1.242b).

967. Mare dividitur] Exod. 14.16-22.
970. Salsos . . . latices] The sweetening of the bitter waters of Mara by the rod of Moses (Exod. 15. 23-25), a type of the cross in Justin (Dial., 86; ANF 1.242a), Tertullian (Adv. Judaeos, 13; PL 2.675 and CSEL 70.318), and Caesarius (Sermo 112; CCSL 103.463-464).
974. petra . . . virga] Exod. 17.5-7; Num. 20.8-11: mentioned in Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF 1.242a) and Caesarius, Sermo 112 (CCSL 103.464) as a type of the cross.
- 976/977. ove . . . perdita] Matt. 18.12-13; Luc. 15. 4-7.
979. humeris . . . inposuit] Luc. 15.5: "Et cum invenerit eam, imponit in humeros suos gaudens . . ."
985. frumenti] Cf. Joan. 12.24 ff.
990. dragma decima] Luc. 15.8-9: the woman who recovered her lost coin.
- 992/993. lactucis et azimis] Exod. 12.8; Num. 9.11. The background for the poet's statements in this passage is in St. Gregory, Hom. 22 in Evang., 8 (PL 76.1177): "Lactucae vero agrestes valde amarae sunt. Carnes ergo Agni cum lactucis agrestibus sunt edendae, ut cum corpus Redemptoris accipimus, nos pro peccatis nostris in fletibus affligamus, quatenus ipsa amaritudo paenitentiae abstergat a mentis stomacho perversae humorem

vitae." This passage is quoted verbatim by Rabanus in his Enarrationes in lib. Num., 2.2 (PL 108.644), and in the Glossa ordinaria, PL 113.398.

997. Trina mors] Cf. Rabanus, Enn. in lib. Num., 2.2 (PL 108.644): ". . . qui immundi erant facti super anima hominis, id est, super mortuo [and then just afterward, with this connection established] Immundus est in anima qui diabolica illusionem, per idolorum cultum, et peccatorum enormitatem, polluitur."
1005. Propheta] The resurrection by superposition accomplished by Eliseus in 4 Reg. 4.33-35.
1007. triduo] See line 374n.
1013. hora . . . ultima] Cf. Matt. 20.6-16.
1036. sancti calicis] The calix Novi Testamenti. Cf. Luc. 22.20; 1 Cor. 11.25.
1057. reverso filio] The prodigal son. Luc. 15.11-32.
1061. currens compendia] Cf. 2 Reg. 18.23: "Currens ergo Achimaas per viam compendii transivit Chusi."
1064. vestigia] Cf. Rom. 4.12; 1 Petr. 2.21.

6. Vere Dignum

Walther, Initia, No. 13602. Leonine verses assigned to the 13th century in R. Helssig, Katalog der Lateinischen und Deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu

Leipzig: Katalog der Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, IV (Leipzig, 1926-1935), p. 309.

1. WD] This monogram represents the words Vere dignum, the incipit of the preface of the Canon of the Mass: "Vere dignum et justum est, equum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte," &c. On the monogram see Adalbert Ebner, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale Romanum in Mittelalter: Iter Italicum (Freiburg i. B., 1896), pp. 432-443, and the illustrations and discussion in R. E. Kaske, "Dante's 'DXV' and 'Veltro'," Traditio, XVII (1961), 185-254. The Leipzig MS is not listed in Kaske's bibliographical appendix, and its interpretations of the monogram are more general than those of Durandus and John Marchesini of Reggio which are cited by Kaske, 188-189.
12. Quatuor . . . alis] Cf. Jerome, Epist., 120.1, Labourt ed., VI.126.23-27 (commenting Ps. 67.14): "Dorsum nostrum, quod prius informe erat, et gravi sarcina premebatur, habeat virorum auri, quod interpretatur in sensu, et alas deargentatas, quae intelliguntur in eloquio scripturarum, et regnum Dei intrare poterimus." Cf. also Cassiodorus, Expositio Psalmorum, 35.8: "Alae vero sunt Domini praecepta novi et vet-

eris testamenti" (CCSL 97.321).

7. Figures of the Cross

Walther, Initia, No. 21003a. The MS contains theological distinctiones and epigrams in hexameters similar to those of Hildebert of Lavardin (PL 171.1381-1442) and Baudry of Bourgueil (see P. Abrahams ed., Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil, 1046-1130 (Paris, 1926), pp. 4-7). Warner and Gilson give the date as 13th century (I.304); the assignment to an early year of that century was made through the courtesy of Fr. J. R. O'Donnell of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

Other epigrams on the cross occur in the MS immediately preceding our text:

Serpens eneus. Contra serpentes serpens reparat
pacientes.

Non alium censum, sese dabit in cruce pensum.
Ne pereat mundus, dabitur tam nobile pondus.
Vulnera purgabit per vulnera que tolerabit.
Per lateris rorem revocabit in orbe cruorem
Per que suum funus vite dabit in cruce munus.
Sanguis ad exangues opus est velud anguis ad
angeles.

De cruce. En epigramma crucis Christum regem
manifestat.

Crux. Victima festiva, vitulus sacer, hostia
diva
In cruce mactatur, perit anguis, ovis revocatur.

1. muscipula] This figure, which has come to be associated with the theology of the Devil's Rights, was applied to the cross first by St. Augustine, for whom the scriptural authority of the word was enhanced by its copious use as a

substitute for laqueus in the indigenous African version of the Latin psalter. In the Vulgate translation muscipula appears only three times (Sap. 14.11; Luc. 21.36; 1 Tim. 6.9); nearly 20 additional occurrences are furnished by replacements of laqueus in the African version. From Augustine's discussions of the muscipula crucis in Serm., 130.2, 134.4, and 263.1 (PL 38.726, 744, 1210) arose the subsequent extensions and modifications of the figure to be found in St. Gregory, Moralia, 33.15.40 (PL 76.691-692); Florus, Expos. in epist. b. Pauli, Hebr. 2 (PL 119.413--quoted from Augustine, Serm., 130.2); Peter Lombard, Collectanea in epist. D. Pauli, Hebr. 2.11-18 (PL 191.421) and Sent., 3.19.1 (Quaracchi ed. II.636); Martin of Laon, Serm., 4.25 (PL 208.362); and St. Bonaventura, In III sent., 20.5 (Quaracchi ed. III.428). See Appendix 6 of J. Rivière, Le dogme de la Rédemption chez saint Augustin, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1933), pp. 320-338. This appendix is an expanded version of Fr. Rivière's article, "Muscipula Diaboli," Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale, I (1929), 484-496.

baculus] A common figure for the cross, originating in exegeses of Gen. 32.10: "In baculo meo [Jacob] transivi Jordanem istum, et nunc cum duabus turmis regredior." Cf. Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF

1.242b); Caesarius, Serm., 87 (CCSL 103.358):

"Iacob ergo ad accipiendam uxorem exhibuit
baculam; et Christus ad redimendam ecclesiam
detulit crucis lignum."

torcular] Isai. 5.2 and 63.3: "Torcular calcavi
solus, / et de gentibus non est vir mecum; /
calcavi eos in furore meo, / et conculcavi eos
in ira mea; / et aspersus est sanguis eorum super
vestimenta mea, / et omnia indumenta mea inquin-
avi." Cf. Apoc. 19.15. The passage is usually
interpreted as Christ Himself speaking. Cf. St.
Jerome, In Esaiam, 17.63.3-6 (CCSL 73A.723):

"Hoc torcular, in quo et malis supplicia, et
bonis praemia a Salvatore calcantur, solus ipse
calcavit, nullumque habuit adiutorem" and Caes-
arius, Sermo 107 (CCSL 103.446): "Tunc enim de
illa spiritali uva, de qua nobis vinum laetitiae
pondere crucis expressit" &c. See A. Thomas,
"Der mystische Keltertreter," Neue Saat, I (1938),
295-301.

ara] A figure for the cross closely tied to euch-
aristic theology and very popular, often linked
to 1 Cor. 5.7: "Etenim Pascha nostrum immolatus
est Christus." Cf. Chrysostom commenting this
passage (Jeannin trans.): "Et ou a-t-il été im-
molé? sur la croix. L'autel est extraordinaire
et nouveau, parce que le sacrifice n'est pas

ordinaire . . . Jésus-Christ était en même temps la victime et le prêtre; la victime selon la chair; le prêtre selon l'esprit" (Oeuvres 3.323a).

Also the gloss on Prudentius's Dittochaei (PL 60.100); St. Leo, Serm., 54.3 (PL 54.359-360): "Aut quod unquam sacrificium sacratius fuit quam quod verus Pontifex altari crucis per immolationem suae carnis imposuit?"; Abelard, Expos. Sym. Apost. (PL 178.622).

2. Tau] See Text 5 above, line 92ln.

lignum dulce] The phrase is not Biblical, though associations with the lignum vitae are obvious (Gen. 3.9; Prov. 3.18, 11.30, 13.12; Apoc. 22.2, 22.14). The phrase here is from Fortunatus, Carm. II.1 (Crux benedicta nitet), line 9.

sycomorus] The sycamore tree is not one of the four (palm, cedar, cypress, olive) conventionally said to be present in the wood of the cross; the reference here is to the sycamore tree which Zachaeus climbed so that he might see Christ (Luc. 19.4). The Glossa comments: "Sycomorus arbor est, moro foliis similis, sed altitudine praestans, et interpretatur ficus fatua, id est, crux. Quae credentes ut ficus pascit, ab infidelibus irridetur ut fatua. Quam pusillus ascendit, dum quilibet humilis et propriae infirmitatis conscius, in virtute crucis gloriatur,

et per hanc laudabilem fatuitatem transeuntem prope Dominum cernit, quia si nondum ita solide ut est jam, tamen raptim, et quasi in transitu luci sapientiae coelestis intendit" (PL 114.325-326). Part of the information in this passage is from Isidore of Seville, Etymol., 17.7.20.

clypeus] A general reference to several OT types of the cross: clypeus salutis (2 Reg. 22.36); clypeus est sperantibus in se (Prov. 30.5). It is under this shield-guise that the cross enters into the deep-running stream of medieval magic and incantatory superstition.

3. stachimus] This word does not appear in any lexicon known to me. It may have some connections with the Greek root $\sigma\tau\alpha\chi\kappa$ -, in which case the range of meaning would be narrowed to things related to harvest, fertility, production &c. (L. stachys, a plant).

prelum] The beam of a winepress, with presumably similar associations--see torcular, above.

navis vel malus] That is, either the ship as a whole or its mast alone. Both are traditional figures of the cross: Justin, 1 Apologia, 55 (ANF 1.181b); Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, 10 (PL 2.666-667) and Adv. Marcionem, 3.18 (PL 2.374); Pseudo-Cyprian, Carmen de Pascha, 9 (CSEL 3.3, Appendix, 305). See H. Rahner, "Antenna Crucis, IV: Das Kreuz

als Mastbaum," ZkTh, LXXV (1953), 129-173 and K. Goldhammer, "Navis Ecclesiae," Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XL (1941), 76-86.

aratum] An early symbol which originated as a crux dissimulata in the time of the persecutions: see Max Sulzberger, "Le symbole de la croix et les monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers chrétiens," Byzantion, II (1925), 371-381 for other cruces dissimulatae; on the plow specifically see J. Danielou, "La charrue, symbole de la croix," Recherches de science religieuse, XLII (1954), 193-203. In our text, the reference is apparently to the Plough, or Ursa Major (aratum caeli).

4. scripturae . . . clavis] Cf. Matt. 16.19. The idea is that the death of Christ is the central fact in light of which all the scriptures are to be interpreted. In the words of John the Scot, "Spiritus ipsius litterae, Christus" (In Joan., 2; PL 122.331), or in those of Hugh of St. Victor, "Omnis Scriptura divina unus liber est, et ille unus liber Christus est, quia omnis Scriptura divina de Christo loquitur, et omnis Scriptura divina in Christo impletur" (De arca Noe moral., 2.8; PL 176.642). These texts are discussed along with several others, and the whole question magisterially examined, in chapter 5, part 2 of

Henri de Lubac, Exégèse médiévale, I (Paris, 1959), pp. 318-328.

virgaque] A composite reference to the several scriptural virgae which have typological significance (Exod. 4.2-3, 4.17, 7.8-13, 14.15-16 and 21, 17.5-6; Num. 17.8; Ps. 22.4; Isai. 11.1). All are mentioned in Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF 242a-242b) and have wide currency in the Middle Ages.

8. The Crucified Christ to Mankind

Walther, Initia, No. 3353.

4. sputis] Matt. 26.67, 27.30; Marc. 14.65, 15.19.
5. pugnīs] Matt. 26.67; Marc. 14.65; Luc. 22.63-64.
6. coccineae chlamydis] Matt. 27.28.
7. illudor] Matt. 20.19, 27.29 ff; Marc. 10.34, 15.20-21; Luc. 18.32, 22.63, 23.11, 23.36.
- harundinis ictu] Matt. 27.30; Marc. 15.19.
8. ligor] Joan. 18.12, 18.24.
- crucifigor] Matt. 27.35; Marc. 15.24-25; Luc. 29.33; Joan. 19.18.
9. spinae pungentes] Matt. 27.29; Marc. 15.17.
10. clavi] Cf. Joan. 20.25.
12. lateris sanguis] Joan. 19.34.
16. potum fellis] Matt. 27.34.
- flagellis] Marc. 15.15.
17. vinciri] Matt. 27.2; Marc. 15.1.
- gladiusque fuste] Matt. 26.47; 26.55.

26. duci Scribis] Matt. 26.57; Marc. 14.43 and 53;
Luc. 22.66, 23.10.
27. Pilati] Matt. 27.2 ff; Marc. 15.1 ff; Luc. 23.1
ff; Joan. 18.28 ff.
28. falso . . . teste] Matt. 26.60.
29. Spelni] Luc. 23.11.
32. aceto] Matt. 27.48; Marc. 15.36; Luc. 23.36;
Joan. 19.29.
33. Simeonis] A reference to the prophecy of Simeon
to the Blessed Virgin: "Et benedixit illis
Simeon, et dixit ad Mariam, matrem ejus: . . .
Et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius, ut
revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes"
(Luc. 2.34-35). This passage is the source of
several manuscript illuminations, frescoes, and
ivories, none earlier than the thirteenth century
and most from the fourteenth century, in which
the Virgin is depicted with a sword in her
breast. The fraternal auspices under which most
of these productions saw the light are amply ev-
idenced by crucifixion scenes in which St. John
has been moved to the side of the Virgin to make
room for fraternal figures at the left of the
Christ, or has been replaced by St. Francis. An
example contemporary with our text may be seen
in Plate I. See for a literary reference and pos-
sible source Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green,

Meditations on the Life of Christ (Princeton, 1961), p. 340.

41. Nummis terdenis] Matt. 26.15.
45. regis honor] Matt. 27.29, 37; Marc. 15.18, 26; Luc. 23.38; Joan. 19.3, 19. The idea of the kingship of Christ is treated by Jean Leclercq, L'Idée de la royauté du Christ au moyen âge, Unam Sanctam, 32 (Paris, 1959), and by Léopold Sabourin, The Names and Titles of Jesus (English ed., New York, 1967), pp. 35-44.

9. The Friars' Crucifixion

Walther, Initia, No. 8996. The text is added in a hand different from the scribe's at the end of a Summa de paenitentiae casibus et de ecclesiasticis officiis libris septem comprehensa of Thomas of Chabeham (fl. 1230), subdeacon of Salisbury (DNB 3.1338). On the MS see Coxe, Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur (Oxford, 1853), I.6.84.

2. alias formas] The crucifixion described here seems to have substituted St. Francis and St. Dominic for the Virgin and St. John, rather than to have added their portraits to those of the traditional figures at the foot of the cross. No crucifixions of the first type, and only one crucifixion of the second type described is catalogued in the Princeton Iconographic Index of Christian Art:

it is reproduced as Plate I. The Christ is flanked on the left by the Virgin and St. John, and on the right by St. Francis of Assisi in a Franciscan habit and St. Dominic of Bologna in a Dominican habit. The breviary in which the illustration is found was made in the Dominican nunnery at Hirschthal in the diocese of Regensburg shortly after 1253, and thus is contemporary with our jesting text. The breviary is now in Maihingen, Bibliothek des fürsten Oettingen-Wallenstein, MS. I.2.8^o.6. See Hanns Swarzenski, Die Lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII. Jahrhunderts in den Ländern an Rhein, Main, und Donau, Die Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1936), I.108-109 and II.54. No. 313.

10. Aspice pendentem

Walther, Initia, No. 1590. Another copy of the text, which I have been unable to compare with the Corpus Christi College copy, is in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 767, fol. 1^v, listed in the Summary Catalogue as No. 2549. For the present text, see M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge (Cambridge, 1912), II.364. Concentration upon the sufferings of the crucified Christ as an aid to meditation and prayer is most common in late medieval exhortations to

penitence, whose spirituality derives from such texts as the Meditationes of St. Anselm and the Meditationes vitae Christi, and from St. Bernard of Clairvaux.

11. The Virgin, the Crucified Christ, and Mankind

The text given here in verse-paragraphs is made up of five separate verses, copied together in the manuscript without interruption, and together forming a complete meditation on the Passion. The individual texts are (1) Mater Virgo--Walther, Initia, No. 10762 [where the incipit is incorrect]; (2) Fili--Initia, No. 6504; (3) Aspice pendentem--Initia, No. 1589; (4) Nec Deus est--Initia, No. 11685; and (5) In cruce sunt fixi--Initia, No. 8886. Notes to the individual texts follow.

No. 1. Found only in this MS.

No. 2. A dialogue of the Virgin and the crucified Christ found in several MSS of the 12th-15th centuries, of which the present copy of six verses seems to be the longest. A different version is printed in James's catalogue of the Corpus Christi College Cambridge MSS, II.126. Full information (with references) is in Walther's Initia, p. 327.

No. 3. Apparently this version (cf. No. 10 above) is found only in the Berlin MS.

No. 4. An inscription for a crucifix printed among the works of Hildebert of Lavardin, PL 171.1283, and

among those of Baudry of Bourgueil (Abrahams ed., p. 182). The verses appear at the beginning of an 8-line poem in the De visitatione infirmorum assigned by Miss Abrahams to Baudry (p. xxix), while at the same time she recognizes the possibility that "les deux premiers vers ne sont pas de lui, mais qu'ils formaient un lieu commun que le poète a voulu 'amplifier'." (p. 182n).

- No. 5. Only this copy is listed in Walther's Initia.
3. Virga dedit florem] Isai. 11.1; Num. 17.8.
4. Justitiae solem] Mal. 4.2.
virga Davidica] Cf. Ps. 109.2-3: "Virgam virtutis tuae emittet Dominus ex Sion; / dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum. / Tecum principium in die virtutis tuae, / in splendoribus sanctorum; / ex utero ante luciferum genui te"
14. judex] Cf. 2 Tim. 4.8.
20. Dimas, Gestasque] Names which were assigned to the good and bad thieves, respectively, in early gospel apocrypha and which persisted throughout the medieval period, usually in the forms Dysmas and Gestas, but often (as here) with one or another variant. See H. Leclercq, "Larrons," DACL, VIII.1 (1928), 1402-1404.

12. De virtute sanctae crucis

Walther, Initia, No. 3480. The date of the MS is that given in Helssig's Katalog der Lateinischen und Deutschen Handschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, I.3 (1935), 723. The conclusion of the text is missing in the MS.

3-6. Ensifer . . . patescit] Cf. Gen. 3.24: "Ejecit-que Adam, et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis Cherubim, et flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae."

7. quisquis amans] Christ the Bridegroom, Matt. 25. 1-13; Marc. 2.19 ff; 2 Cor. 11.2; Apoc. 19.7, 21.9. The figuration of the present passage owes most to the parable of the ten virgins: "Dum autem irent emere, venit sponsus, et quae paratae erant, intraverunt cum eo ad nuptias, et clausa est janua" (Matt. 25.10). See Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 87-92.

9. rapiunt illud violenti] Cf. Matt. 11.12: "A diebus autem Joannis Baptistae usque nunc, regnum caelorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud."

12. praedoni] Satan.

15. certamen] The figure of battle is closely tied to Christus victor theology. See Introduction and the analysis of Pange lingua given there.

19. obstrusa] =abstrusa.

23. aestus pondusque] From the parable of the laborers in the vineyard, Matt. 20.12 ff.
24. A line seems to be missing at this point.
26. labor diuturnus] Exod. 18.18: "Stulto labore consumeris et tu, et populus iste qui tecum est."
29. fures et meretrices] Cf. Matt. 21.31: "Publicani, et meretrices praecedent vos in regnum Dei."
32. Illa vocata Canis] Matt. 15.22-28: "Et ecce mulier Chananaea . . . venit, et adoravit eum dicens: Domine, adjuva me. Qui respondens ait: Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere canibus. At illa dixit: Etiam Domine, nam et catelli edunt de micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum. Tunc respondens Jesus, ait illi: O mulier, magna est fides tua"
43. sol] Mal. 4.2; cf. Matt. 13.43.
51. nova stella] Matt. 2.2-10.
54. calcabile stravit] Matt. 14.24-33; Marc. 6. 45-53; Joan. 6.14-22.
- 55-56. Denique . . . tremuit] Matt. 27.51-53.
59. velum templi] Matt. 27.21; Marc. 15.38; Luc. 23.45.
67. Moysi . . . velamen] 2 Cor. 3.13-16: "Et non sicut Moyses ponebat velamen super faciem suam, ut non intenderent filii Israel in faciem ejus, quod evacuatur, sed obtusi sunt sensus eorum. Usque in hodiernum diem, cum legitur Moyses, velamen

positum est super cor eorum. Cum autem conversus fuerit ad Dominum, auferetur velamen."

73. Moyses . . . rubrum] Exod. 14.16-25.

76. Agnum . . . sacrificari] Exod. 12 passim.

78. effulsit] Cf. Ecclus. 50.7.

80-87. pascit &c] Cf. Ezech. 34.23; Matt. 6.26;

Joan. 21.15-17.

86. escas recreales] Cf. 1 Cor. 10.3.

89. panis vitae] Cf. Ps. 77.24; Joan. 6.48 passim.

The Biblical history of the figure is treated in Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 106-115.

92. labrusca] Isai. 5.2.

94. vitae vite] Joan. 15.1, 15.5; considered in its many figurative forms in Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 99-105.

97. frumenti spargere granum] Cf. Joan. 12.24.

99. petra] 1 Cor. 10.4: "Et omnes eundem potum spiritualement biberunt (bibebant autem de spiritali, consequente eos, petra: petra autem erat Christus)."

101. Cf. above, line 99n.

13. Crux fidelis

This brief prosa is Walther, Initia, No. 21038. In the MS the text is provided with a musical setting, a sample folio of which may be seen in Otto von Heinemann, Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel:

Erste Abtheilung, Die Helmstedter Handschriften (Wolfenbüttel, 1884-1888), III.54 overleaf. The text is a slightly reduced and modified version of the Crux fidelis section of Fortunatus's Pange lingua gloriosi.

1-2. Dulce . . . pondera] Lines 22-24 of the Pange lingua gloriosi (Carm. 3.2; AH 50.71) are:

"Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis,
/ Nulla talem silva profert flore, fronde,
germine, / Dulce lignum dulce clavo dulce
pondus sustinens."

3-4. sola . . . caelorum] The last stanza of the same text of Fortunatus is: "Sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi / Atque portum praeparare nauta mundo naufrago, / Quem sacer cruor perunxit fusus agni corpore."

14. A Grammatical Proverb

Walther, Initia, No. 3474. The text is found at the upper margin of a page of declensions and conjugations, among which are those of crux, crucio, crucifigo, et. The point of the verses is that crux, like meretrix, forms its plural in -ces. The lines are listed as No. 3821 in H. Walther, Proverbia sententiaeque Latinitatis medii aevi: Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung, Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina, II (Göttingen, 1963-1967).

1. minime dignum] Cf. Deut. 21.23; 1 Cor. 1. 17-18;
Gal. 5.11; Hebr. 12.2.

15. Carmen de Christo crucifixo

Walther, Initia, No. 10017; medieval pointing. The text is inserted between sections 60 and 61 of Marbodius De lapidibus, in a manuscript which contains an anthology of ancient and medieval Latin poetry: see Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti I: Codices Vulcaniani (Leiden, 1910), p. 18.

19. stigmatе signo] Cf. Gal. 6.17: "Ego enim stigmata Domini Jesu in corpore meo porto."

20. Nil scio &c.] Gal. 6.14: "Mihi autem absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundus!"

39. Quem portat] Cf. 1 Cor. 6.20: "Glorificate et portate Deum in corpore vestro."

16. Carmen de sancta cruce

Walther, Initia, No. 8975. Of the five MSS of this poem listed in Walther, one is a wrong reference, one has been destroyed, and of the three remaining I have been able to examine only two. Of the two, only the Strasbourg MS is complete; it is from this that the title of the poem has been taken and almost the entire text--see E. Wickersheimer's statements in volume XLVII of the Catalogue général des

manuscripts des bibliothèques publiques de France, 110.

The MS is only four leaves; our text is the only item contained in it. The Trier MS follows the Strasbourg text for the initial three lines; then it continues with lines 119-176 of the Strasbourg text, following which a concluding section different from that in the Strasbourg MS is added:

Pneumea conflages strages trinae Deitatis,
 Vatis vacatum fatum, ceteris geminatum,
 Latum distensum, deorsum celsumque profundum,
 Fundum telluris puris gestans elementis,
 Entis plasmatrix faceris generosa salutis.
 Tutis duc gradibus quibus austria regna gubernas,
 Vernas tuas solem, prolem, messes sine naevo.
 Aevo plusque prius dius se carnificavit,
 Stravit sic hostes, postes fregit stigiales,
 Tales vitare dare quae mentes opportunia gliscit.
 Vis scit cuncta regis, regis genitrix quae nata
 Grata, benigna, scia, pia, salva Virgo Maria.

(Trier MS, lines 60-72)

The same scribe continues in the MS, after a division marker, with Gaude Syon (Walther, Initia, No. 7073). Several of the readings of the abbreviated Trier text are superior to those of the Strasbourg text, and have been adopted as noticed in the textual footnotes.

A third copy of the full text, "ca. 200 lines" from the late 14th century, is in a manuscript volume of sermons

by R. Acton in Cambridge, Peterhouse, MS. 104, folios 1 ff:
 M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts
 in the Library of Peterhouse (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 120-
 121. In compiling his Initia, Walther misread James's
 catalogue, and gave an erroneous reference which I did
 not correct until it was too late to see the MS.

A fourth copy of the poem in Danzig, Biblioteka
 Gdanska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, MS. Mar. f. 239, ff. 2^v-
 3^v, was lost in the second World War. Portions of the text
 are printed in Otto Günther, Die Handschriften der Kirchen-
 bibliothek von St. Marien in Danzig (Danzig, 1921), p. 264,
 indicating that this text also contained the full 200
 lines. Its conclusion differs from those of the Strasbourg
 and Trier copies, and is duplicated here from Günther's
 catalogue:

Vos ego purgavi pendens ut glorificarer,
 Vos illustravi surgens ut iustificarer,
 Vos consummavi scandens ut glorificarer.
 J dictus dixi planctum crucis et crucifixi,
 Dum dixi vixi, quantum vixi tibi dixi.

(Danzig MS, lines 201-205)

A fifth MS is listed in Walther: Oxford, Bodleian
 Library, MS. Bodl. Addit. A. 263 (olim Western 29383),
 f. 6. The reference has been misprinted in the Initia,
 and its incipit misread: the text is the Epitaphium
Thomae Aquinatis (Initia, No. 8976), beginning In luctum
zithare in the Oxford manuscript.

1. In luctum cithara] Job 30.31: "Versa est in luctum cithara mea, et organum meum in vocem fluentium."
- ara] See above, text 7, line 1n.
4. viam lucis] Cf. Job 38.19, 38.24: "in qua via lux habitet Per quam viam spargitur lux"
7. latramina] The form latramen does not occur in the lexicons. The root latra- is common, however (latrare, to bark or roar--to be distinguished from the Greek root $\lambda\alpha\tau\rho-$, whence L. latro, latrocinatio, etc.), and not too much appeal to poetic license is required to translate "groans" for latramina and to read lines 7-8, "Inspire souls, restraining terrible groans lest the poem develop in an unwholesome direction" (Neve sua satira deliret aegra lira).
22. herus haesit herae] Gen. 3.6.
30. fatore] fator, -oris. Speaker (for, 1 dep).
[Souter]
31. genas . . . foedat] From the Suffering Servant sections of Isaias. Cf. Isai. 50.6: "Corpus meum dedi percutientibus, / et genas meas valentibus."
40. malagma] Cf. Sap. 16.12.
41. conversam] Two typologies of the cross are implied here, based on the two trees of paradise.

Only the Tree of Life is strictly speaking a type of the cross, though for rhetorical effect the Tree of Knowledge is invoked in patristic and medieval writings to provide a striking figurative contrast. To call this inverted reference "antitypical parallelizing" as some have tried to do, is to misread the sources themselves. Tertullian, for example, is said by O. Zöckler, Das Kreuz Christi (Gütersloh, 1875), p. 122n, to have made such an "antitypical" identification. Tertullian in fact has said precisely the opposite: "Et lignum, inquit [propheta], adtulit fructum suum (Joel 2.22). Non illud lignum in paradiso, quod mortem dedit protoplastis, sed lignum passionis Christi, unde vita pendens a vobis credita non est (Deut. 28.66). Hoc enim lignum tunc in sacramento erat, quo Moyses aquam amaram indulcavit"

- 63. medicina] Cf. Ecclus. 43.24: "Medicina omnium in festinatione nebulae; / et ros obvians ab ardore venienti humilem efficiet eum."
- 70. hasta forat] Joan. 19.34.
- 73. pellicanus] Cf. Isidore, Etymol., 12.7.26; De bestiis et aliis rebus, 1.33: "Pelicanus est Aegyptia avis, habitans in solitudine Nili fluminis. . . . seipsam rostro percutit, et suo

sanguine pullos aspergit, et sic quos prius occiderat, asperso sanguine vivificando lavat. Mystice pelicanus significat Christum; Aegyptus mundum" (PL 177.29). Commentaries on Ps. 101.7 usually duplicate this information.

phariseat] Phariseare, to separate. [Du Cange]

76. Nec . . . serae] Cf. Matt. 16.18: "Super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevalerunt adversus eam."
77. trabeavit] Not in the lexicons in verbal form, but the meaning "was crucified, endured crucifixion" is clear from the root and from later forms such as trabeatio=crucifixion (Du Cange).
88. alma parens] =BVM.
89. ut hostia] A sacrificial theology of redemption is implied in this line: Qua pietate . . . orbis--"by which sacrifice you propitiate the world's sin"--introduces hostia, the central concept in sacrificial theology, wherein God's mercy reunites man with God through the voluntary agency and death of His Son.
90. alterias] Variant accusative plural of altaria. The line echoes Horace, Carm. 3.1.1, "Odi profanum vulgus et arceo."
91. pondera] Cf. Num. 11.11: "Et ait [Moyses] ad Dominum: Cur afflixisti servum tuum? quare non invenio gratiam coram te? et cur imposuisti

pondus universi populi hujus super me?" Also Joan. 1.29.

99. gigas] A generalized scriptural appellation for evil persons: "Nomine gigantum saepius in sacris Litteris quilibet tyranni et violenter injusti homines intelliguntur" (Dutripon). Here the reference is to Longinus the Centurion.
108. Mulcet] Additional evidence for the sacrificial theology favored by the poet: however, the favor referred to may be bestowed for dramatic effect rather than for theological precision--at least, such an interpretation is suggested by the way in which the poet implies a paradoxical opposition between the just Father and the redeeming Son: "Patrem natus . . . mulcet is rhetorically parallel to mortem mors and poena reatus in the line preceding.
109. Victima paschalis] Besides the reference to the Lamb, with all its associations (Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 161-166), these words echo the opening lines of the famous 11th-century Easter sequence Victimae paschali laudes (AH 54.12-13), conventionally assigned to the priest Wipo (d. 1050), chaplain to the Emperor Conrad II.
111. Pastor . . . bonus] Joan. 10.11-16, with references implied to Ps. 22.1-2 and the Shepherd King of Ezech. 34.23. See Sabourin, Names and Titles,

pp. 65-71.

115. esus] The Eucharist.

121. statera] This figure for the cross derives from Fortunatus's Vexilla regis (AH 50.74-75).

Stanza 6 of this hymn is: "Beata cuius brachiis / Pretium pependit saeculi, / Statera facta est corporis / Praedam tulitque tartari." In later works such as St. Gregory's Moralia, Rupert of Deutz's De Trinitate, and a sermon formerly attributed to St. Bernard (PL 75.767; 167.1612-1613; 184.972 respectively) the figure is brought into relation with Job 6.2: "Utinam appenderentur peccata mea quibus iram merui, / et calamitas quam patior, in statera!" The figure is quite rare in pictorial representations, but a moralized Bible of the 13th century, reproduced as Plate II, makes the connection: above, Job is shown sitting on his dunghill with a balance in his left hand, addressing Eliphaz, Baldad, and Sophar; the text in the margin is Job. 6.2-3. In the miniature below, Christ is shown crucified on the statera crucis, with a text which reads, "Hoc signat quod Job praevidit quod per stateram id est per crucem debebant deleri peccata humani generis et desiderabat per hoc delerentur peccata sua." For two other miniatures showing a balance hanging from the left arm of the cross, with the instru-

- ments of the passion in one pan weighing down a struggling demon in the other, see Francis Wormald, "The Crucifix and the Balance," JWCI, I (1938), 276-280.
123. Ara salutaris] The figure is explained in the note to Text no. 7, line 1.
125. Cetera ligna praeis] The idea is very old: see Fortunatus, Pange lingua (AH 50.71), line 28: "Sola digna tu fuisti ferre pretium saeculi," and Vexilla regis (AH 50.74), lines 17-20: "Arbor decora et fulgida, / Ornata regis purpura, / Electa digno stipite / Tam sancta membra tangere."
129. thronus] Cf. 3 Reg. 1.27: "Thronum domini mei regis."
131. vitae vitis] Christ. See Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 99-106.
133. salutiferi signi] The signum Filii hominis in caelo of Matt. 24.30 was often interpreted as the cross: the most important of the early sources is St. John Chrysostom's Homilia IIa de cruce et latrone, 4, of which a Latin version once thought to be St. Augustine's is extant among the spuria in Sermo 130 De Tempore. Jean-nin renders Chrysostom's relevant passages thus: "Jésus-Christ ne l'a point laissée [la croix] sur la terre, mais qu'il l'a transportée avec lui dans le ciel. Et qu'est-ce qui le

prouve? il doit paraître avec elle dans son second avènement Vous voyez quelle est l'excellence de ce signe, quel est son éclat et sa splendeur. Le soleil est obscurci, la lune est sans lumière, les étoiles tombent [Matt. 24. 29], lui seul paraît, afin que vous appreniez qu'il est plus brillant que la lune, et plus éclatant que le soleil" (Oeuvres, III.227; cf. Hom. 76 in Matt., Oeuvres, VII.592-593). The interpretation is taken up constantly. For the later Middle Ages see St. Thomas Aquinas, Cat. aur. in Matt. Evang., 24.7 (Parma ed. [repr. New York], XI.277), where Chrysostom is cited as the authority; and from a much different spiritual milieu, Thomas à Kempis, De imitatione Christi, 2.12 (Delaissé ed., p. 36): "Hoc signum crucis erit in celo: cum dominus ad iudicandum uenerit."

134. semine] The parable of the seed, Luc. 8.5-11, which concludes: "Est autem haec parabola: Semen est Verbum Dei."

137-140. A conventional statement of the relation between the two Testaments in medieval exegesis. See De Lubac, "L'Unité des deux Testaments," Exégèse médiévale, I.1.305-363.

141. caeli clavis] The cross is termed "our Lord's key" by St. Augustine: "Proinde quia crux Domini nostri clavis fuit, qua clausa aperirentur" (Enn.

in Ps., 45; CCSL 38.518) and the "key of the house of David" by St. Bonaventura: "Crux . . . comparatur et assimilatur in sacra Scriptura . . . Clavi domus David [Isai. 22.22] . . . propter ianuae caelestis reserationem" (Sermo in Feria IIa post Secundam Dominicam Quadragesimae, Quaracchi ed., IX.222). The motif forms part of the "living cross:" see Füllister, Das Lebende Kreuz, pp. 181-184, for further references.

lignum vitae] Gen. 2.9. The long tradition of this figure, whose identification with the cross dates back to St. Ignatius of Antioch (d. ca. 117), Epistle to the Smyrneans, 1.1 and Epistle to the Trallians, 11.2 (ANF 1.86; 1.71), is summarized in E. S. Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree," Traditio, X (1954), 323-371.

sacra navis] Gen. 6.14 ff. The ramifications of this figure, which proliferated to include the Christian in the secular world, the Church in society, the soul amidst temptation &c., are detailed fully by Hugo Rahner, "Antenna Crucis, VII: Die Arche Noe als Schiff des Heils," ZkTh, LXXXVI (1964), 137-179.

142. ramus avis] Gen. 8.11--the dove returned to the ark bearing an olive branch, one of the four woods said in later medieval tradition to have composed the cross.

143. Scala Jacob] Gen. 28.12-13. See Text no. 5 above,
line 803n.
rubus] Exod. 3.2-4. Not a figure of the cross.
145. Virgula ductoris] Gen. 32.10. See Text 7, line 1n.
147. specie colubri] Num. 21.5-9; Joan. 3.14. See Text
5, line 807n.
148. stat . . . unda] Part of the complex of figures
which sees the cross in Moses's rod: Exod. 14.
15-21. The first to make this particular inter-
pretation was Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF 1.242a),
followed by Origen, Hom. in Exod. 4.6 (PG 12.
321), Caesarius of Arles, Sermo 99 (CCSL 103.
403--cf. Sermo 112, CCSL 103.463), and others.
See Max Sulzberger, "Le symbole de la Croix et
les Monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers Chré-
tiens," Byzantion, II (1925), 361-366.
150. petra potat eos] Exod. 17.6; Num. 20.11. See Text
no. 5, line 974n.
151. statuum serpentis] Num. 21.9; Joan. 3.14. See
Text 5, line 807n.
152. lacum medicans] Exod. 15.23-25. See Text 5, line
970n.
virgaque flore micans] Aaron's rod, Num. 17.2-8.
A common figure for the cross, beginning with
Justin, Dial., 86 (ANF 1.242b).
153. lyra grata] 2 Reg. 6.5.
thronus . . . Salomonis] 3 Reg. 10.18-20; Cant.

3.9-10. Applied to the cross by St. Bonaventura, Sermo in Feria Secunda post Secundam Dominicam Quadragesimae (Quaracchi ed., IX.222) "propter credentium omnium ad caelum deductionem et introductionem."

155. *vetus ager*] In keeping with the figure of the plow--line 161 below. See Text 7, line 3n.
164. *torum*] Commonly used as a figure of the Blessed Virgin, the reclinatorium Dei--see Text 5, line 54.
165. *clipeus*] Cf. 2 Reg. 22.36: "Dedisti mihi clypeum salutis tuae" See Text 7, line 3n.
- baculus*] See Text 7, line 1n.
166. *ratis*] Cf. Sap. 14.5-6: "Sed ut non essent vacua sapientiae tuae opera, / propter hoc etiam et exiguo ligno credunt homines animas suas, / et transeuntes mare per ratem liberati sunt. / Sed et ab initio cum perirent superbi gigantes, / spes orbis terrarum ad ratem confugiens, / remissit saeculo semen nativitatis quae manu tua erat gubernata."
167. *caula fidelis ovis*] Cf. Gen. 29.7; Num. 32.16.
176. *publicae*] The reading of S, poplite, makes no sense in this context. The scribe may have mistaken an older form of publice, i.e., poplice, or have misread an abbreviation. T is superior.
191. *usia*] Gk. οὐσία: substance; being.

194. fulgoro] The form fulguro is more common, but Baxter cites the present spelling with the same meaning, "to lighten" [i.e., lightning], or in a more general sense, "to shine, gleam &c."
195. Ecclesiae petra Petre] Matt. 16.18.
203. stella] Matt. 2.2-10.
205. harundine] One of the arma Christi: Matt. 27.29-30; Marc. 15.19.

17. An ABC of the Cross

Walther, Initia, No. 3468. The MS is a late 13th century copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin Brutus; our poem has been added in a hand of the first half of the 14th century, along with various "Goliardic" verses, on folios 4r-4v--see Falconer Madan et. al., A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxford, 1922-1953), I.251. In the right margin of f. 4r is a verse-pair which relates to the subject of the ABC:

Sint medicina mei pia crux et passio Christi

Vulnera quinque Dei sint medicina mei.

1. Crux &c] These lines have been removed from their normal place in the abecedarian plan, clearly to give the word crux pride of place in a poem devoted to its praise.
3. arbor ardua] The emphasis upon the height of the cross in this phrase, and in celso consecrata and conjuncta caelicolis above, suggests that

a reference is intended to the cosmological tree of the cross, whose branches extend in all four directions to the limits of the world, and through whose branches the souls of Christians mount to reunion with the Father. Appendix 8 of Zöckler's Das Kreuz Christi (pp. 443-449) gives a survey of the exegetical history of Eph. 3.18, from which the tradition springs. Cf. Text 5, line 884n.

- 3/4. amatoris] Christus amator, from the Canticle, Marc. 2.19 ff, Apoc. 19.7, and the various wedding parables, Matt. 22.1-14 and 25.1-13. See Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 87-92.
6. Balneasti] Balneo, -ēre, to bathe [Souter].
balsamo] From the crucifixion-analogue passage in Eccclus. 24.17-21.
7. decora] First applied to the cross by Fortunatus, Vexilla regis, line 21 (AH 50.74). Cf. fulgida, line 11.
- 9/10. Estuosum, erumpnas] =Aestuosum, aerumnas: MS readings retained for the sake of the abecedarian plan.
13. Gemma grata] Cf. Prov. 17.8: "Gemma gratissima expectatio praestolantis; / quocumque se vertit, prudenter intelligit."
15. hinnias] Lamentations (hinnio, -īre, to lament-- Souter). Cf. Isai. 10.30, 24.14, 54.1.

- 16/17. Initial "I" has been retained as in the MS for the sake of the abecedarian plan.
17. Ihesu iuncta Iericho] There may be some typological references intended here to the gathering of Moses to his people in Deut. 33.49-50 ("in terra Moab contra Jericho"), especially considering the implied comparison of Christ with Moses in the phrase legis lator lateris, line 21.
18. inclitans] Inclito, -āre, "inclutum facere" [TLL]; inclytare, "nobilitare, ditare, illustrare" [Du Cange].
- 19-20. MS orthography retained for the sake of the abecedarian plan.
19. karismatizata] "Given the divine gift" [Souter].
20. canorata] The verbal form of this participle is not found in any of the lexicons, but that it is equivalent to canorus, -a, -um ("harmonious, melodious") seems clear.
26. naufragantes] A common symbol for the state of fallen man. 1 Tim. 1.19: "Ut milites in illis bonam militiam, habens fidem, et bonam conscientiam, quam quidam repellentes, circa fidem naufragaverunt."
- 31/32. quassatorem] The noun does not appear in the lexicons, but the verb is Biblical in the sense "strike, bruise" (Isai. 42.3: calamum quassatum

- non conteret; cf. Matt. 12.20), and the equivalent quassatio is found in Ps. 105.30.
32. quatesce] The verb *quatesco (=quatio) does not appear in the lexicons, but the rhetoric of the passage obviously makes it equal to quassare, forming a paradoxical pair with quiesce . . . quassatorem.
33. Rege regum] Cf. 1 Tim. 6.15; Apoc. 7.14.
38. thau] A traditional symbol of the cross, apparently initiated by the apostolic author of the Epistle of Barnabas, 9.7-8, and taken up by other early writers such as Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, 6.9.84 and Augustine, Sermo 96.6. See M. Sulzberger, Byzantion, II (1925), 350-353, and the works cited in Text 5, line 92ln.
- 39/40. MS orthography retained.
40. vexillo] A very old figure for the cross, found in Justin, I Apol., 55 (ANF 1.181b-182a); whence Tertullian, Apologeticum, 16.7-8 (CSEL 69.43), Ad nationes, 1.12 (CSEL 20.83); Minucius Felix, Octavius, 29.7-8 (CSEL 2.43). See also Chrysostom, Hom. IIa de cruce et latrone, 4 (Oeuvres, 3.227b) and Jerome, Comm. in Matt. Evangel., 4 (PL 26.187). The greatest impetus was given the poetic tradition of the symbol, however, in the hymn Vexilla regis of Fortunatus, which became part of the liturgy for the feasts

of the Invention and Exaltation of the cross,
and for the Good Friday adoratio crucis.

41. xennifer] This word does not occur in the lexicons, but the root is the same as that of L. xenium [Gk. ξένιον], a gift.
42. vines in hoc signo] The inscription which Constantine the Great saw on the cross which was revealed to him before the triumphant battle of the Milvian Bridge. See Lactantius, De mortibus persecutorum, 44 (PL 7.261); Eusebius, De vita Constantini, 1.28-31 (PG 20.943-947): "Horis diei meridianis, sole in occasum vergente, crucis tropaeum in coelo ex luce conflatum, soli superpositum, ipsis oculis se vidisse affirmavit, cum hujusmodi inscriptione: Hac vince. Eo viso et seipsum et milites omnes, qui ipsum nescio quo iter facientem sequebantur, et qui spectatores miraculi fuerant, vehementer obstupefactos."
43. hypocrisim] Cf. Matt. 23.28; Luc. 12.1; 1 Tim. 4.2.
usia] Gk. οὐσία, substance.
44. paralisim] Palsy, paralysis. Cf. 1 Mac. 9.55.
45. Zimata] Zyma, -atis: "leaven" [Habel], Gk. ζύμη
LXX Exod. 12.15, metaphorically used in the sense "corruption, falsehood," Matt. 16.6.
zizannica] Not in the lexicons, but clearly an adjectival form of zizania, -orum: "chaff,

cockles," or figuratively "heresy" or "schism."

Cf. Matt. 13.25-40.

18. The Four Woods of the Cross

Walther, Initia, No. 8881. Of the four copies of this poem listed in the Initia, I have used the two Munich texts in manuscript and the Paris text in the transcription of H. Martin, Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Paris, 1885-1899), I.446. I have not seen the copy from Basel, Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MS. A. XI. 67, fol. 160. Clm 12527 is a MS of Raymond of Peña-forte's Summa de casibus (Halm, 2.2.76); Clm 17787 has our poem on the last folio of the MS, where it appears as the last item following a treatise of the Augustinian friar Heinricus de Vrimaria on the Ten Commandments, which according to the explicit was written in 1324.

These two lines represent multum in parvo--the final stage of a legendary development which was at its height at the close of the Middle Ages: the legend of the wood of the cross before Christ. Examples of the legend exist in every medieval European vernacular, and grew out of an earlier system of legends concerning the search for the oil of mercy conducted by Seth, son of Adam. The cross legend was grafted onto the original Seth legend in England by the eleventh century (A. S. Napier, History of the Holy Rood-Tree: A Twelfth Century Version of the Cross Legend, EETSOS 103 (London, 1894), p. lviii), and was fully devel-

oped from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. It was included in important compendia such as Vincent of Beauvais's Speculum historiale, VI.42 (Douay, 1624, repr. Graz, 1965, IV.236).

The most immediately relevant portion of the legend is that which describes the composition of the wood of the cross. The versions may be divided, like sources describing the number of nails in the true cross, into those which state that three kinds of wood were used, and those which prefer four. The majority of sources recognize the cypress, cedar, and pine stemming either from a branch with three leaves given to Seth, or alternatively from three seeds, symbolizing the Trinity. The sources are not in agreement as to which wood symbolizes which Person: the pine (or palm) is usually assigned to the Holy Spirit, but the cypress is sometimes symbolic of the Father (Napier, History, p. 16: "Cypressvs tacnæð pone fæder. Cedrvs tacnæð pone sunæ.") and sometimes symbolic of the Son: Adolfo Mussafia, "Sulla leggenda del legno della Croce," Sitzungsberichte Akad. Wien, LXIII (1870), 181. The significations of the four-woods texts are based more specifically upon the real or fancied qualities of the woods themselves, according to a moral plan ultimately derived from St. Augustine's ethical exegeses of Ephes. 3.18. Such are the two most important texts which give interpretations for four woods, the Vitis mystica, printed among the works of St. Bernard, and Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda aurea:

De quatuor enim generibus arborum facta fuisse refertur: de cypresso, de cedro, de oliva, de palmis. Cypressus in profundo, cedrus in longo, oliva in alto, palma in lato. Unde dicit Apostolus: Ut possimus comprehendere cum omnibus sanctis, quae sit latitudo, longitudo, sublimitas et profundum [Ephes. 3.18] Habent autem horum lignorum singula suas mysticas significationes secundum naturas suas. Cypressus enim timorem sive humilitatem significat, ubi est radix crucis, per quam non solum situs humilis, sed natura ejus exprimitur: quia, ut dicitur, fugat odore serpentes, id est diabolos, quorum proprius character superbia ab humilitatis virtute fugatur. Cedrus arbor longitudine praestans aliis arboribus, longitudinem crucis, id est, perseverantiam significat, sive patientiam. Naturali enim sua virtute approbatur, quia est valde durabilis et corrumpi ex natura non potest. Oliva vero arbor oleum effundens, per quam misericordiae opera significantur, charitatem significat, quae arbor bene latitudinem habet crucis: quia lata est charitas, quae etiam ad inimicos extendi praecipitur. Palma porro arbor victoriam significans, altitudinem crucis optime significat spem de supernis habendam, non ad infima deprimendam. Haec arbor habet in se titulum triumphalem scriptum, in quo invenitur fructus crucis. (Vitis mystica, 46; PL 184.731-732)

Ipsa autem crux Christi ex quatuor generibus lignorum fuisse perhibetur, scilicet palmae, cypressi, olivae et cedri. Unde versus: Ligna crucis palma cedrus cypressus oliva. In cruce enim fuit haec quadruplex differentia lignorum, scilicet lignum erectum lignum transuersum, tabula supposita et truncus, qui crux erat infixa Quo signo crucis omnis actio humana et christiana describitur, bene operari in Christo et ei perseveranter inhaerere, sperare coelestia, sacramenta non profanere.

(Leg. aur., 68; Graesse ed., pp. 304-305)

The virtues applied to the dimensions in these passages are from St. Augustine, In Joannis Evangelium, 118.5 (CCSL 36. 647); Epist., 55.14 and 140.26 (PL 33.216 and 33.566 respectively). No text known to me interprets the dimensions and the woods consistently with the text of our present poem.

See for the development of the legend itself in Latin Wilhelm Meyer, "Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus," Abhandlungen Akad. Munich, XVI.2 (1882), 103-166, and for a general study along predominantly folkloristic lines Esther C. Quinn, The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life (Chicago, 1962).

1. pes] The buried portion of the upright beam.

19. Devota collocutio piissimae
Virginis Mariae cum dominica cruce

Walther, Initia, No. 1712a. This text is not discussed in Walther's Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 5.2 (Munich, 1920). These colloquies clearly take their inspiration originally from the scene described in St. John's gospel (Joan. 19.25-27), where Christ spoke to the Virgin and St. John from the cross, but the most important proximate influence is that of the late medieval treatises on the Passion produced under fraternal auspices. In the Meditationes vitae Christi, for example, a scene is described in the house of Mary and Martha, in which the Virgin begs Christ to celebrate the Pasch with the two sisters and herself, and not to go to Jerusalem to be captured. She pleads that if the Father wishes, He can provide for the redemption of man in another, less painful way. Christ's consolation, upon which the reader is urged to meditate by the author of the work, is brief and touching: "Do not cry. You know that I am bound to obey the Father,

but be surely confident that I shall soon return to you, and on the third day I shall rise safe and sound. Therefore I shall spend the Pasch on Mount Sion according to the wish of my Father" (Med. vit. Chr., 72; Ragusa and Green, pp. 308-309). Some texts quoted by Ruh expand the dialogue to a form very close to that in our poem: "Zur Theologie des mittelalterlichen Passionstraktats," Theologische Zeitschrift, VI (1950), 32-39.

7. palma et cypressus] Two of the four woods said to have composed the cross. See Text no. 18, note.
15. cornibus] Deut. 33.17. The Vulgate reads, "Quasi primogeniti tauri pulchritudo ejus; / cornua rhinocerotis cornua illius;" but the Greek reads κέρατα μονοκέρατος for cornua rhinocerotis, whence the interpretations of the unicorn's horns as figures of the cross in Justin, Dial., 91 (ANF 1.245a); Tertullian, Adv. Judaeos, 10 (CSEL 70.303) and Adv. Marcionem, 3.18 (CSEL 47.406-407). See also exegeses of Ps. 70, 76.69, 91.10.
22. reus] Satan, who is sometimes represented perched on one of the arms of the cross, tempting Christ to the very end: see Vincent of Beauvais, Speculum historiale, VII.43 (Douai, 1624, repr. Graz, 1965, IV.236).
31. polus] The pole-star (= stella maris); the BVM is perhaps to be understood along with the heavens

in their grieving.

51. ipse voluit] Lombard quotes Ambrose's definitive formulation, "Eadem est Christi voluntas, quae paterna" (Sent., 3.17.2; Quaracchi ed., II.626), and applies it to the cross in 3.18.5, Quaracchi ed., II.632-633.
56. Dulcis . . . resina] The idea that Christ's crucifixion rendered the cross physically more attractive, as a means of figuring the value of the redeeming deed performed upon it, is as old as the poetry of the cross itself and takes many forms, among which the sweetening of the wood is but one. See Fortunatus, Carm., II.1.11-12; II.6.25-28; III.2.22-24.
61. sub modio] Matt. 5.15; Marc. 4.21; Luc. 11.33.
66. Agnus hic anniculus] The sacrificial lamb of the age of one year: see inter alia Exod. 12.5; Lev. 23.12-19; Num. 6.12; Sabourin, Names and Titles, pp. 161-166.
72. Juge ad solacium] Probably intended in this context to suggest a verbal parallel to the juge sacrificium of certain OT passages. Cf. Ezech. 46.14; Daniel 8.11-13, 11.31, 12.11.
82. Ensem . . . Simeonis] See Text no. 8, line 33n.

20. De martyrio crucifixi

Walther, Initia, No. 11551. A fourth copy of this poem

is listed in the Initia (Clm 671, fol. 121). The Munich text which I have seen is glossed; notations of the glosses are in the linear notes below. The poem is included in the MS amid several other short poems--see Halm and Laubmann, Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1892-1894), III.166.

1. coluber] Glossed serpens. The figure Christus coluber comes from interpretations of Moses's brazen serpent raised in the desert as the crucified Christ, Num. 21.9: "Fecit ergo Moyses serpentem aeneum, et posuit eum pro signo; quem cum percussi aspicerent, sanabantur." See Text 5 above, line 807n.
luguber] Glossed tristis.
2. uber] Glossed fertilis. The reference is to the "fertility" of Christ's redeeming act on the cross.
3. tuber] Glossed inflationem.
Stygis] Glossed inferni.
nexile] Glossed ligatis. The marginal gloss in the Wrocław text was inserted presumably because the scribe, familiar with the associations of the word vexillum in poems of the cross, and not understanding the proper reading nexile, "bound to," desired to make some sense of the line.
suber] Glossed bast. "Bast. [OE bæst; MHG, ModG, MDu, ModDu bast]. The inner bark of the lime or linden . . . applied generally to flexible fib-

rous barks, and other similar materials" (OED). Isidore, Etym., 17.7.27 says of the cork tree that it has a strong, buoyant inner bark and that it is eaten by swine, but does not explain the figure. There may be some reference to the crux navis idea, i.e., that those bound for Hell cling to the cross for safe conduct; but the meaning is obscure.

4. puber] Glossed adolescens.

canus] Glossed antiquus.

uber] Glossed mammilla.

21. Dialogue of Christ and the Sinner

Walther, Initia, No. 16673.

9. Peccatum] The sin of Adam, recreated in every sinner, from which man must be freed before he is redeemed. Peter Lombard details the ways in which Christ's suffering and death liberated man: from the devil (Rom. 3.25), sin (Rom. 5.8-9), and death (Rom. 3.22, 25), and cites Augustine's De Trinitate, 4.13.17 (PL 42.899): "Morte sua quippe, uno verissimo sacrificio, quicquid culparum erat, unde nos diabolus ad luenda supplicia detinebat, Christus exstinxit" (Sent., 3.19.1, Quaracchi ed., II.635).

15. dilectio maior] Joan. 15.13: "Majorem hoc dilectionem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat quis pro

amicis suis."

22. Versus de
passione Christi Domini nostri

Walther, Initia, No. 8871. The first of these short texts is not listed in the Initia. The MS is a book of sermons created under fraternal auspices in the fifteenth century--see Halm and Laubmann, Catalogus Codicum . . . Monacensis, 2.4.220.

1. Adam] Cf. 1 Cor. 15.22: "Et sicut in Adam omnes moriuntur, ita et in Christo omnes vivificabuntur."
6. Heli] Matt. 27.46.
8. stas cum Johanne] Joan. 19.25-26.
11. libro . . . vitae] Cf. Eccclus. 24.32; Apoc. 3.5:
"Qui vicerit, sic vestiatur vestimentis albis;
et non delebo nomen ejus de libro vitae, et confitebor nomen ejus coram Patre meo, et coram angelis ejus."

23. The Joy of the Cross

Walther, Initia, No. 3479, where the MS is listed under its former designation, Schottenkloster MS. 53.h.10. Many of the locutions and figures in the poem have been discussed in previous notes.

3. lux orta] Cf. Ps. 96.11: "Lux orta est justo, et rectis corda laetitia."
4. palma] Here the palma victoriae, not the wood of the cross, though a reference may be intended.

24. Versus de inventione sanctae crucis

Walther, Initia, No. 3482. The particular form of the invention legend given here belongs to the subgroup of Cyriacus legends: i.e., legends of St. Helena's journey and retrieval of the true cross which introduce the figure Judas/Cyriacus as the actual finder. An earlier form of the legend has St. Helena herself as the immediate cause of the actual finding. A curious later development holds the cross to have been discovered in the time of Claudius Caesar by the Emperor's consort, Protonike.

The legends appear to have grown from oriental originals, but were fully developed in the West within 100 years of the time when Helena was first connected with the invention by St. Ambrose in the De obitu Theodosii (PL 16.1400 ff) in the year 395.

The present version of the Cyriacus legend is much condensed. For a fuller version of the Latin texts, and a good brief account of the origin and early development of the legends in all their forms, see Johannes Straubinger, Die Kreuzaffindungslegende (Paderborn, 1912).

The present MS is undated in the 1802 catalogue of the Cottonian collection, but contains materials from as late as 1489 (p. 2). Though the script looks as though it might be even later, the text has been assigned to the 15th century from this evidence and from Walther's dating in the Initia.

1. mutis] Emended because of the invariance of the poet's disyllabic rhyming practice and improved sense. The figure of the mute given speech is from Matt. 9.32-33; Marc. 7.32-37; Luc. 11.14.
4. cruce vincit] See Text no. 17, line 42n.
12. Jungi] Emended from MS Iugni: a scribal transposition. Helena's first act upon arrival in Jerusalem in the Cyriacus form of the legend is to arrange an assembly of the Jews. With the emendation, the line makes perfect sense: "Having ordered that the sinful Jews (synagoga) be assembled"
21. mors fugiebat] Figured in many versions of the legend by a devil who curses and flees at the discovery of the true cross.

25. Two Verses on the Woods of the Cross

Walther, Initia, Nos. 14016 and 8887. Further examples of the way the cedar and cypress may be interchanged in descriptions of the dimensions--in this case on the same page of the same manuscript. Additional cases are extant. In the Domgymnasium at Halberstadt, MS. 129, fol. 1v, appears the following 15th-century text with a pes cedrus motif (Initia, No. 3471):

Crux Domini palma cedrus cypressus oliva
 datque pedem cedrus, truncus cipressus oliva
 datque partem summam, duo brachia dant tibi palmam.

A printed version of the text is in G. Schmidt, Königliches Dom-Gymnasium in Halberstadt: Oster-Programm 1881 (Halberstadt, 1881), p. 7. And listed in Walther's Stichwörter, No. 11710b, is another short text on the theme cypressus in imo:

In cruce cypressus basis est, cedrusque columna,
Palma tenet palmas Domini, titulum dat oliva.

See the headnote to Text 18, above.

26. Hail, Glorious Cross

This poem, which is not listed in Walther's Initia or included in the Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, is printed in M. R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge, 1895), p. 139. Variants between James's transcription and my own are cited in the linear notes below. A completer version of the hymn from Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 545, fol. 184 (late 15th century) has been printed by Francis Wormald, "The Rood of Bromholm," JWCI, I (1937), 33. Where the present text breaks off, the Lambeth Palace version continues:

Et de facto desperato
Hoste truso machinato
Reconsignas dei nato
Tuum presidium

[20]

Adoramus te Christi
Quia per crucem, etc.

This text is followed by the same oratio as occurs in the Fitzwilliam Museum copy.

The verses form the background surrounding a crucifix in "black, white, and gold on a gold stand on a green mound,

the ground flourished" (James, p. 138) included in a book of hours from the year 1480 (James, p. 128) which has been associated with East Anglia, and particularly Norfolk, by the reference to the Rood of Bromholm in four verses which border the crucifix (IMEV, Supplement, No. 3585.5):

At top: Ihesus nazarenus rex iudeorum.
Right: Thys cros that heyr peyntyd is.
Left: Syng of the cros of bromholm is.
Bottom: Fili dei miserere mei.

1. salve] G. Laurion, "Essai de groupement des hymnes médiévales à la Croix," Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, VI (1963), 329, lists eighteen poems to the cross in the AH alone which begin with this word.

gloriosa] This and other adjectives such as pretiosa, line 2; formosa, line 4; sacrata, line 7, occur repeatedly in the hymns and sequences of the cross from Fortunatus forward, making it all but impossible to identify definite borrowings.

10. sacro] James's reading sacra is erroneous.
17. facto] James's emendation to isto is not borne out by the Lambeth Palace text or by the MS reading fto of the Fitzwilliam text.

Orat., 2. perpetuis] James's propetius is erroneous.

Orat., 3. Per &c] James prints Per only, while the text continues as noted.

27. The Cross of Pope Sixtus IV

Walther, Initia, No. 3475a, where the incipit has

fecit for MS facit.

1. Sixtum] Sixtus IV, reigned 1471-1484.
2. artetica] Artetica gutta, i.e., arthritis [DuCange] mensibus octo] Sixtus IV died on August 12, 1484.
3. quercus] The pope's name was originally Francesco della Rovere [L. robur]; his arms, which appear to the right of these lines in the MS, show an oak tree uprooted gold on an azure background. There is evidence to show that Sixtus had no claim to this coat of arms, which was that of a much higher-ranking branch of the family than his own Savonese branch, but this did not keep Sixtus from having the arms installed in profusion in his Sistine Chapel: see D. L. Galbreath, Papal Heraldry, A Treatise on Ecclesiastical Heraldry, Part I (Cambridge, 1930), p. 86.
4. Lelius Caesar] I have not been able to trace this reference.

28. Circa crucem

Walther, Initia, No. 7259. Undated. This poem, like Nos. 4, 10, and 21 above, is a meditation framed in penitential terms on the meaning of Christ's crucifixion. The monastic auspices under which it was composed are revealed in the two final lines.

4. quantulacumque trabes] An interesting inversion of the cosmological tree idea of the cross,

emphasizing its humility rather than the grandeur of the original conception.

29. The Crucified Christ and the Seven Principal Vices

Walther, Initia, No. 9211. Undated.

1. Inclinans] From the bending of the head of the crucified Christ in iconography, rather than from a Biblical text.
3. tacens se] Act. 8.32: "Tamquam ovis ad occisionem ductus est, et sicut agnus coram tondente se sine voce, sic non aperuit os suum."
4. ab imis ivit] The resurrection: Matt. 28.5-7; Marc. 16.5-6; Luc. 24.4-7; Joan. 20.1-31.
6. aceto felleque] Matt. 27.34.
7. guttas] Luc. 22.44.

30. Locutio crucifixi ad peccatorem

Walther, Initia, No. 20303. Undated. This text, with some variant readings, is the first strophe of a poem by Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236). The poem was often misascribed to St. Bernard in the early MSS under the title Bernardus in persona Christi (B. Haureau, Des poemes latins attribués à saint Bernard (Paris, 1890), pp. 76-77); but is correctly ascribed to Philip the Chancellor in the 13th-century MS. Egerton 274, fol. 20^r, and in the present MS, where the text is followed by the notation S[cripsit]

philippus cancellarius parisiensis. The entire poem in three strophes has been edited in a slightly variant form by Dreves under the title Planctus Christi morientis in AH 21.18 from five MSS, of which only one gives more than the first strophe, and of which only two, the Egerton MS and Chartres 341 of the 14th century, ascribe the text to the Chancellor. Dreves believes that only the first strophe is actually by Philip the Chancellor, and that the other two are later additions. This conclusion is strengthened by the new evidence provided in the Wrocław MS. Dreves's text follows:

Planctus Christi morientis

1. Homo, vide, quae pro te patior,
Si est dolor sicut, quo crucior,
Ad te clamo, qui pro te morior,
Vide poenas, quibus afficior,
Vide clavos, quibus confodior,
Cum sit tantus dolor exterior,
Interior planctus est gravior,
Tam ingratum dum te experior.
2. Eja, homo, quare teipsum negligis?
Vultus ad aspectum quare non corrigis
Et cur affectum ad me non dirigis?
Erras, dum quempiam plus quam me diligis.
Nam creaturam te feci nobilem,
Ad aspectu pulchrum, rationabilem,
Natura mitem et amicabilem
Summique boni communicabilem.
3. Et tu serpentis seductus flatibus
Illaqueasti te mortis nexibus,
Hinc paradisi es depulsus foribus,
Mox occurristi saevis latronibus,
Qui te nudatum sacris virtutibus
Vulneraverunt in naturalibus.
Cumque non esset, qui salvum faceret,
De manu mortis nec qui redimeret,
Ad te descendi de patris solio,
Vile velatus carnis cilicio,
Te redempturus, non autem pretio,
Sed, sicut cernis, sanguine proprio.

Immediately preceding the Locutio in the MS is a copy of the three lines beginning Nec Deus nec homo found in Text 11 above--see No. 4, note. The Wrocław text differs only slightly:

Nec Deus nec homo praesens quam cernis imago,
Sed Deus est et homo praesens quem signat imago:
Ergo non hunc Christum, sed Christum crede per istum.

31. Christ's Speech to the Sinner

R. H. Robbins and J. L. Cutler, Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse (Lexington, Ky., 1965), No. 3905.5. A translation of the poem by Philip the Chancellor immediately above, in an early 16th-century MS of the Speculum sacerdotale of Richard Wethersset of Leicester (Magistri Ricardi de Laycester dicti Wedringletus), who was installed as chancellor of Cambridge University in 1349-1350 (DNB 20.1298). Immediately following the explicit of this work occurs our text in the same hand, with the following introductory lines: "Quod dicit Bernardus de passione Christi:

Vide magis homo quid per te pacior,
Ad te clamo pro te morior,
Vide penas quibus afficior.
Vide clavos quibus confodior,
Intus tamen planctus ego gravior,
Tam ingratum dum te expior."

Immediately following this rather garbled version of the first stanza of Dreves's Planctus Christi morientis (AH 21. 18) comes our English text. See for the history of the

attribution to St. Bernard Text 30 above, note. On the MS itself, see Joseph Van den Gheyn et al., Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Brussels and Renaix, 1901-1936), III.269.

1. by-hald] The IMEV Supplement incipit is in error, as recourse to the Latin (vide) and the MS reading show clearly.

32. Gospel for the Invention of the Cross

Brown and Robbins, IMEV, No. 2928. This versified Gospel from the Vernon MS is not included in Horstmann's collection of narrations from the Temporale printed in Archiv, LVII (1877), 241-316, and is only noticed in his edition of the Proprium Sanctorum in Archiv, LXXXI (1888), 109. The IMEV and Supplement give no printing history of the poem.

The text is No. 52 in the Temporale of the MS series of gospels, and was used also in the Proprium Sanctorum (No. 16) at the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross on May 3--see Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, NF (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. lxxi-lxxvii. General background on the place of the Vernon collection in the Northern Homily Cycle may be found in Wells's Manual, pp. 287-292; in Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, NF, pp. lvii-lxxxix; and in G. H. Gerould, North-English Homily Collections: A Study of Manuscript Relations and of the Sources of the Tales (Lancaster, Pa., 1902).

The MS is described in Madan's Summary Catalogue,
II.789.

Erat] Joan. 3.1-15.

- 13-14. And . . . bi-falle] Not in the Latin text.
 31-32. þen . . . bore] Not in the Latin text.
 36. holy water] L. ex aqua.
 39-40. þat . . . monyfolde] Not in the Latin.
 60. Ffor . . . mene] Not in the Latin.
 65. Fforsope] In margin, "in sope," with insertion
 indicated after "forsope."
 68-69. Ofte . . . sope] Not in the Latin.
 78. schal . . . go] The Vulgate is in the past tense:
 "Et nemo ascendit in caelum."
 83. þe . . . mihti] Not in the Latin.
 86. serpent] Num. 21.9. See the note above to Text
 5, line 807.
 88. Monnes soule &c] The Vulgate reads, "Et sicut
 Moyses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita
 exaltari oportet Filium hominis"
 89. And . . . synne] Not in Latin. Cf. lines 173 ff
 below.
 138. underfo] OE underfon, to receive.
 197. Elye . . . was] 4 Reg. 2.11.
 201. And &c] Cf. lines 85-87.

33. A Stanza of Fortunatus

Robbins and Cutler, Supplement IMEV, No. 3490.6. The

MS is a volume of Latin sermons written in England between 1430 and 1436 by the Franciscan Nicholas Philip. Throughout the MS "English is sometimes mixed with the Latin, and often occurs in the 'processus' or summary of the sermon" (Madan, Summary Catalogue, V.685). Such is the occasion of the present translation.

Arbor &c] Venantius Fortunatus, Carm. 2.6

("Vexilla regis"), lines 17-19.

34. Christ's Seven Torments

Robbins and Cutler, Supplement IMEV, No. 541.8. These snippets of English verse are included in three MSS of the De pastoribus of Richard Rolle, the two listed here and MS. Balliol 149, f. 33^r, which I have been unable to examine. De pastoribus is Chapter 7 of Rolle's unedited treatise Melum contemplativorum (written ca. 1326-1327: Hope Emily Allen, Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle Hermit of Hampole and Materials for His Biography (New York and London, 1927), p. 129). The Dublin MS is headed "Ricardus heremita de Pastoribus: Ricardus Hanpule in libro vocato melum c^o vii^o contra pastores." The MSS are described in Coxe, II.2.49 and in T. K. Abbott, Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin and London, 1900).

Amore langueo &c] Cant. 2.5, 5.8: Christ addressing His spouse, the Church.

7. probyng] After the verses, a paragraph is devoted to each torment in the Latin prose.

35. The Seven Sheddings of Christ's Blood
and the Hours of the Cross

Brown and Robbins, IMEV, Nos. 1708 and 1664. A different version of section A of this text, with the sixth and seventh stanzas transposed, has been printed by Carleton Brown from MS. Rawlinson liturg. g. 2 in Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1952), pp. 118-119. Our MS "contains poems of various kinds on the calendar, all in English," and has been partially printed in James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge (Cambridge, 1913), p. 276.

- 3. cyrcumsicion] Luc. 2.21.
- 8. Olyvete] Matt. 26.30 ff; Marc. 14.26 ff; Luc. 22. 39-44.
- 11. eme] OE éam; in dialectal ME usage, a friend, [spiritual] brother (OED).
- 14. scorgys] Matt. 27.30; Marc. 15.16-19; Luc. 22. 63-64; Joan. 19.1-5.
- 20. thornes] Matt. 27.29; Marc. 15.17; Joan. 19.2.
- 27. nayles] Joan. 20.25.
- 32. blode . . . herte] Joan. 19.34.

35B. The Hours of the Cross

A continuation of the preceding text, without a break in the MS.

1. take] Matt. 26.45-57; Marc. 14.43-53; Luc. 22.47-54; Joan. 18.3-13.
8. To-fore Pylate] Matt. 27.1-2, 11 ff; Marc. 15.1-4; Luc. 23.1-5; Joan. 18.28 ff.
14. up i-borne] Matt. 27.29 ff; Marc. 15.17 ff; Luc. 23.33; Joan. 19.2 ff.
21. aysyll & galle] Matt. 27.48; Marc. 15.36; Joan. 19.29.
26. gaf the goste] Matt. 27.50; Marc. 15.37; Luc. 23.46; Joan. 19.30.
32. Josep of Barmathy] Matt. 27.57; Marc. 15.43; Luc. 23.50-53; Joan. 19.38.
38. I-leyde &c] Matt. 27.60; Marc. 15.46; Luc. 23.53; Joan. 19.41-42.

36. A Fragment on the Passion

Robbins and Cutler, Supplement IMEV, No. *1585.8.

The text is from a torn page of a fifteenth-century notebook --M. R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue (Cambridge, 1900-1904), III.174. Robbins and Cutler suggest that the stanza may be part of a longer poem attacking extreme fashions in dress, though a more general devotional intention seems likely.

37. To Staunche Blode

Robbins and Cutler, Supplement IMEV, No. 1946.5. The

text is found in a late 15th-century volume of miscellaneous writings, patristic texts and "goliardic" and other verses-- see Moses Tyson, "Hand-List of Additions to the Collection of Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, 1908-1928," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XII (1928), 586.

6. by-twix the watr & the lande] It was on the cross that Christ shed His blood for the sins of mankind, and the petition to Christ on the cross in a charm to stanch blood is not surprising. An imaginative leap of some magnitude is necessary, however, to sympathize with the audacity of the folk poet who, in this line, reasons that since Christ demonstrated elsewhere in the gospels His ability to control liquid in a state of eruption (the stilling of the storm at sea-- Matt. 8.26; Marc. 4.39; Luc. 8.24), such control might be brought to bear on the problem of a cut finger if brought to the Lord's attention in the proper way.

38. The Hours of the Cross

Brown and Robbins, IMEV, No. 1155. A translation of the very widespread Latin text of the Hours of the Cross beginning Patris sapientia, veritas divina (AH 30.32-33; Mone, Hymni latini medii aevi (Freiburg i. B., 1853), I.106-110, with a Norman French translation of the 15th

century). The Latin original is noted in Walther, Initia, No. 13840.

Another English translation (IMEV, No. 3499) has been printed by H. Littlehales in The Prymer, or Lay Folks' Prayer Book, EETSOS 105 (London, 1895), pp. 15-34, interspersed throughout the various offices of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin.

The Latin text from the Analecta Hymnica follows:

Ad Matutinum.

Patris sapientia, veritas divina,
Deus homo captus est hora matutina,
A notis, discipulis cito derelictus
Iudaeis est venditus, traditus, afflictus.

Ad Primam.

Hora prima ductus est Iesus ad Pilatum,
Falsis testimoniis multum accusatum
In collo percutiunt, manibus ligatum,
Vultum Dei conspuunt, lumen caeli gratum.

Ad Tertiam.

Crucifige clamitant hora tertiarum,
Illusus induitur veste purpurarum,
Caput eius pungitur corona spinarum,
Crucem portat umeris ad locum poenarum.

Ad Sextam.

Hora sexta Iesus est cruci conclavatus
Et est cum latronibus pendens deputatus,
Prae tormentis sitiens felle saturatus,
Agnus crimen diluit sic ludificatus.

Ad Nonam.

Hora nona Dominus Iesus exspiravit,
Heli clamans animam patri commendavit,
Latus eius lancea miles perforavit,
Terra tunc contremuit, et sol obscuravit.

Ad Vesperas.

De cruce deponitur hora vespertina,
 Fortitudo latuit in mente divina,
 Talem mortem subiit vitae medicina,
 Heu, corona gloriae, iacuit supina.

Ad Completorium.

Hora completorii datur sepulturae
 Corpus Christi nobile, spes vitae futurae,
 Conditur aromate, complentur scripturae,
 Iugis sit memoriae mors haec mihi curae.

Conclusio.

Has horas canonicas cum devotione
 Tibi, Christe, recolo pia ratione,
 Ut, qui pro me passus es amoris ardore,
 Sis mihi solacium mortis in agone.

39. A Litany of the
 Blessed Virgin by Christ's Blood

Robbins and Cutler, Supplement IMEV, No. 1838.5.

12. thornes] Matt. 27.29; Marc. 15.17; Joan. 19.2.

16. tormentys] Matt. 26.67, 27.30; Marc. 15.16-19;

Luc. 22.63-64; Joan. 19.1-5.

19. asked drynke] Joan. 19.28.

26. circumcysed] Luc. 2.21.

36. hert] The wound in the side: Joan. 19.34.

40. Two Fragments on Christ's Passion

Robbins and Cutler, Supplement IMEV, No. *3844.8.

The MS is a fragment of vellum covered on both sides with verses in rime-royal stanzas. The subject of the first is circumcision (i.e., the first time Christ shed His blood), considered under the general form of sundering or cutting

off favored by exegetes from St. Paul forward; the second skips to the three final times (scourging, crucifixion, Longinus's spear) of the poet's 5-part plan.

A1. For . . . was] These words are diagonally cut through in the MS and are difficult to read. They are found in a transcript of the text made by W. W. Skeat which was kindly furnished me by Mr. Philip Grierson, Librarian of Gonville and Caius College, and have been deciphered only through its expert aid.

B5. y-bounde] Marc. 15.1; Joan. 18.24.

8. upon the rode] Matt. 27.35; Marc. 15.25; Luc. 23.33; Joan. 19.18.

9. Longeus] The soldier who opened Christ's side and was said to have been cured of blindness by having Christ's blood fall into his eyes--see Vincent of Beauvais, quoting Peter Comestor in the Speculum historiale, VII.46 (Douai, 1624 repr. Graz, 1965, IV.237): "Et qui lanceavit eum . . . cum fere caligassent eius oculi: & casu tetigisset oculos eius sanguine, clare vidit." Longinus first received a name in the Evangelium Nicodemi, chapter 10.

41. The Virtues of the Cross

Brown and Robbins, IMEV, No. 23. Our text is in the bottom margin of a page containing a meditation under the title De cruce: copying the text (which contains triads,

figures, and Biblical citations from the major medieval traditions concerning the cross) has apparently moved the scribe to append a vernacular effusion in the space remaining. These texts themselves are of some interest and are reproduced below.

De cruce

Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Ad Gal. 6. In cruce debet homo gloriari propter quattuor puncta:

Liber nostrae instructionis,	crucem Domini
Scutum nostrae protectionis,	quattuor modis
Testimonium nostrae redemptionis,	debemus
Et signum aeternae praemiationis	portare:

In corde	per meditationem,
In ore	per confessionem,
In corpore	per mortificationem,
et in facie	per assiduam impationem.

.Exemplum. In fractura Navis lignum apprehende et salvaberis. Quid est lignum nisi crux Christi? Accipe crucem et salvaberis.Exemplum.

Chrysostomus. Ubicumque demones signum dominicum viderint, fugiunt timentes baculum quo plagam acceperunt. Cruces sunt vexilla Christi. Jacobus de Vitriaco, de seipso. Cum ego semel in presentia devoti viri fratris Simonis conversi Cisterciensis ordinis de cruce praedicarem, multique relictis omnibus ad crucem convolarent. Rogavit Dominum dictus frater, ut sibi ostenderet quale praemium cruce signata daturus esset. Qui statim frater in spiritum vidit beatam Virginem Filium suum tenentem et secundum quod quisque contrito corde crucem accipiebat Filium suum illi dabat. Chrysostomus super cruce dicit: quod crux et cicatrices radiis solis erunt lucidiores: Sol obscurabitur et luna non dabit lumen suum, ut discas quoniam crux est luna lucidior et sole praeclarior.

The passages from Chrysostom translated here are from the familiar Homilia IIa de cruce et latrone, 4 (see above, Text 16, line 133n), the source of a great deal of medieval

symbolism of the cross and particularly of the exegesis of Matt. 24.29-30; the story of Brother Simon and the crusaders is from Jacques de Vitry, Exempla ex sermonibus vulgaribus, 121 (Crane ed., pp. 55-56; see p. 186 for other versions). The confluence of such seemingly disparate traditions in a late medieval text is a reminder that versicles such as the one here edited contain developed allegorical schemata in their individual figures, and that a single one of their words is capable of triggering a complex and potentially profound exercise in meditation for those whose minds are properly prepared.

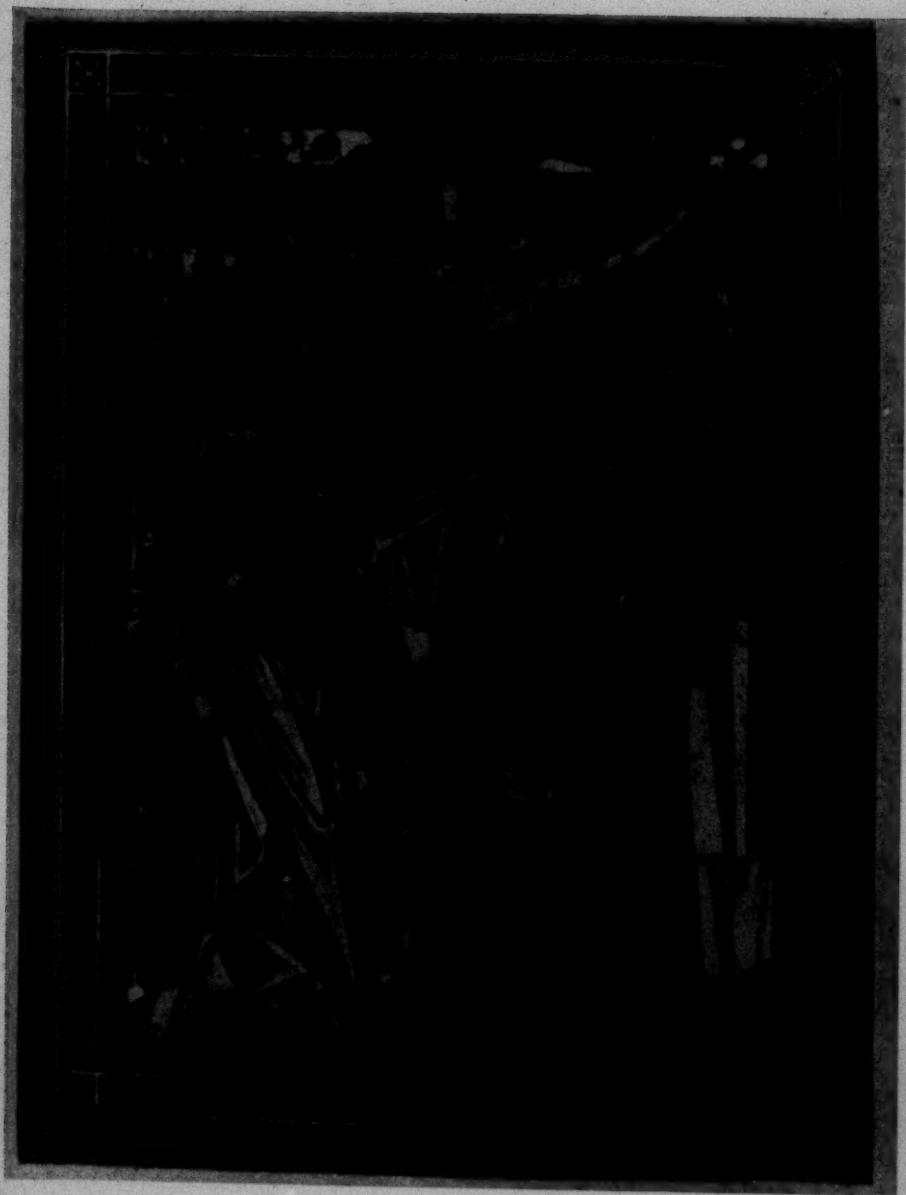
1. barge] The crux-navis figure--see above, Text 7, line 3n.
2. targe] The crux-clypeus figure--see above, Text 7, line 1n.
3. falle] OE mús-falle, a trap, mousetrap (OED).
The crux-muscipula figure--see above, Text 7, line 1n.
4. halle] I know of no precedent for this figure, which seems to have arisen as an extension of the parable of the sparrow in the mead-hall in Bede's Historia ecclesiastica.

APPENDIX

The following poems perhaps belong in the present collection, but were not available to the editor during the preparation of the editions. The manuscript or folio references may be erroneous, since they are taken over directly from the catalogues and could not be identified through correspondence with library authorities in most cases.

1. Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. 665, fol. 204^v. Crux Simonem Petrum necat &c. Walther, Initia, No. 3483. This MS was apparently destroyed in the World War.
2. Hannover, Stadtbuchereien, MS. IV.524, fol. 1. Morte sua mortis exemit &c. Walther, Initia, No. 11291. The MS is no longer in the library.
3. London, British Museum, MS. Royal 2.B.x., fol. 1a. Ihesu that sufferyd &c. IMEV, No. 1770.
4. London, British Museum, MS. Addit. 37049, fol. 68b. Take hede man &c. IMEV, No. 3251.
5. London, British Museum, MS. Addit. 33381, fol. 151b. Crist was done on a tre &c. Supplement IMEV, No. 627.3.
6. London, British Museum, MS. Harley 4826, fol. 146b. Remember man the peyne &c. Supplement IMEV, No. 2806.5.
7. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 9803 [no fol. specified]. Quatuor ex lignis &c. Walther, Initia, No. 15305.
8. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 3761, fol. 72. In cruce morte &c. Walther, Initia, No. 8875.
9. Paris, BN. MS. Lat. 11867, fol. 239. Crux tibi Christe Jesu &c. Walther, Initia, No. 3484.
10. Paris, BN. MS. Lat. 13593, fol. 54. Crux honoranda &c. Walther, Initia, No. 3477.
11. Paris, BN. MS. Lat. 16699, fol. 135. Per fidei lumen cernat &c. Walther, Initia, No. 13938.

12. Vatican City, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS. Vat. pal. lat. 719, fol. 159v. Quatuor hec &c Walther, Initia, No. 15316.



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BIBLIOGRAPHY

This list includes all works cited in the Introduction and the notes to the texts, and a few others which may be consulted with profit by the reader interested in the broader field of the dissertation. Manuscript sources have not been included, since complete bibliographical information is available following the title and in the headnote to the notes for each text, and since manuscript sources as a whole may be reviewed easily by consulting the table of contents. Works included in the following list of often-cited abbreviations are not included in the body of the bibliography.

- AH =Dreves, Guido Maria and Clemens Blume, eds. Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi. 55 vols. Leipzig, 1886-1922.
- ANF =Roberts, Alexander and James Donaldson, eds. The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A. D. 325. 10 vols. Buffalo, N. Y., 1885.
- CCSL =Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina.
- CSEL =Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.
- DACL =Cabrol, Fernand, Henri Leclercq, and Henri Marrou, eds. Dictionnaire d'Archeologie chretienne et de Liturgie. 15 vols. Paris, 1907-1953.
- NPNF =Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace, eds. A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. 2nd Series. 14 vols. New York, London, and Oxford, 1890-1900.
- PG =Migne, J.-P., ed. Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca.
- PL =Migne, J.-P., ed. Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina.
- SC =Sources Chrétiennes.
- TLL =Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an edition of forty-three Latin and Middle English poems, all of which relate to the cross or the crucifixion of Christ, from MSS of the eleventh to the early sixteenth centuries. With some three exceptions, the texts are here edited for the first time from photographic reproductions of the original manuscript sources. The collection includes notes which identify Biblical references, gloss uncommon words, and cite enough relevant medieval and modern background material to enable the reader to see the poetry in context and appreciate its medieval dynamics. An introductory essay acquaints the reader with the origins and meaning of the stock of Biblical typologies and Christianized secular symbolism which the poets constantly use, provides an historical account of the development of the framework of ideas to which the poets refer by using such expressions (i.e., the theology of Redemption), and tentatively explores the esthetics of two common ways in which medieval poets of the cross exploited the referential potentialities of the symbolic medium in the centuries preceding those from which the bulk of the poems of the edition derive. The collection as a whole is intended to provide the necessary basis for a full history of medieval cross-poetry along predominantly esthetic lines. Such a history does not exist at the present time.

Of the forty-three texts, thirty-one are in Latin and

twelve are in Middle English. There is one Latin poem from a MS of the 11th century; 3 Latin poems from MSS of the 12th century; 5 Latin poems from MSS of the 13th century; and 3 Latin poems from MSS of the late 13th or early 14th centuries. Six Latin poems and one English poem are from MSS of the 14th century; 9 Latin and 6 English poems are from MSS of the 15th century, and there is one Middle English translation of a stanza of Philip the Chancellor in an early 16th-century manuscript. Seven texts are of unspecified date, but are probably from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The collection demonstrates in miniature the extraordinary variety of the medieval poetry of the cross. The learned end of the spectrum is represented by an elaborately made metrical psalter of the cross (Text No. 5), a no less elaborate abecedarius crucis (No. 17), and an intricately textured Carmen de sancta cruce of 100 hexameter distichs (No. 16). From these poems, the collection can descend to a less learned but moving dialogue between the Blessed Virgin and the cross (No. 19), exhortations of the crucified Christ to sinful man (Nos. 8, 10, 21, 30), and simple meditations on the wounds of the Passion (Nos. 28, 22); and proceed from that level even lower, to a versified charm by the cross designed to stanch blood (No. 36) and a set of mnemonic aids for remembering which species of wood made up which portion of Christ's Cross according to the leg-

endary accounts (Nos. 14, 18, 22, and 25). A monastic plan of twelvefold cruce-signation (No. 4) and a goliardic jest at the preference of some friars for crucifixes showing St. Francis and St. Dominic in the places normally occupied by the Blessed Virgin and St. John at the foot of the cross exemplify the range of tones of the collection; that there should be so wide a range, and that that range should operate according to such a variety of esthetic principles, needs to be considered carefully by those who would perpetuate the current oversimplified views of medieval religious poetry.